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## JERICHO: CITY AND NECROPOLIS

*II. Early Bronze Age (additional).*

*III. Middle Bronze Age i (continued).*

*IV. Middle Bronze Age ii.*

By JOHN GARSTANG, M.A., D.Sc., HON. LL.D., F.S.A.

WITH PLATES XXVI-XLV

IN the first instalment of this Report (pp. 3-22, above), after tracing briefly the morphology of the city from earliest times, we gave a short account of the archaeology of the site in the Later Stone Age and the Early Bronze Age, and concluded with a more detailed description of a large burial chamber of Middle Bronze Age i (c. 2000-1800 B.C.). The present instalment is devoted entirely to the Necropolis.

A third season's work upon the spot, carried out in the spring of this year, has supplemented considerably the information at our disposal as to the earlier ages, and has added a wealth of material, surpassing expectation, as to the subsequent periods. This substantial progress was largely due to the discovery of the Bronze Age Necropolis, in which most of the tombs proved to be virtually intact. These were located in unbroken ground between the great burial chamber A already described and the city mound (see Fig. 7 on p. 19). In all twenty-four tombs have been opened and cleared: their contents, chiefly pottery vases, about 1500 in number, pertained mostly to the second half of the Middle Bronze Age (1700-1500 B.C.). More than a thousand of these specimens were found in good condition, several hundred without a flaw. Many are new to the Corpus of Palestinian types, while quite a number can claim a measure of artistic merit which throws new light on the standard of Canaanitish culture during the Hyksos period. We propose to publish a complete selection of these tomb-groups, not excluding variations of type; and we begin with a number of grotto-tombs which seem to fall earlier in date than the others. Though we publish also



details of the layers and find-spots within each tomb, in the hope of ultimately establishing the relative dates and sequence of the types, we cannot attack that part of this problem finally until the whole series has been passed in review. Some of the tombs are more complex than others, containing interments and offerings of later date; while even those which are more homogeneous seem in many cases to represent a number of generations if not of centuries. For this reason the starting point of our analysis will probably be the smaller groups having no traces of re-use.

Though most of the tombs are to be assigned to the latter half of the Middle Bronze Age, the deposits cover more or less the whole range of the Bronze Age, from E.B.A. ii to L.B.A. i (c. 2300-1400 B.C.); we will accordingly describe them in due order by periods. We shall deal only briefly, however, with the specimens of E.B.A., partly because they were found in a disturbed tomb, and partly because we propose to examine the immediate neighbourhood more fully during the coming season, in the hopes of finding some undisturbed deposits. The specimens of M.B.A. i are taken from the lowest layer of the great burial chamber A, the excavation of which had to be left over from the previous season. These complete that series, and are described in detail uniformly with those already published (see Pls. I-VIII and XIII-XVI) as the opening feature of this Report with Pls. XXVI-XXVIII.

The tombs of the latter half of M.B.A., and those of the early part of L.B.A., are approximately dated by a splendid series of eighty scarabs, mostly of Hyksos style and date, with a proportion of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. Two of the richest tomb-deposits of this later phase

Tombs 4 and 5) contained royal Egyptian scarabs, in addition to the other types, bringing the date of the latest deposits down to the end of the 15th century B.C. The Pharaohs named are Queen Hatshepsut, Thutmose III and (on two scarabs in Tomb 4) Amenhetep III (1410-1375 B.C.). This last gives the latest date to the Bronze Age deposits of the necropolis. In particular, it may be noticed that while early Mycenaean motives had begun to make their appearance (*e.g.* in Tomb no. 13), nothing more is found of this class of ware so distinctive of the last phase of the Late Bronze Age (1400-1200 B.C.). Further investigations within the city gave parallel results. As some time must elapse before the materials of this period can be published, it may be stated here, as a matter of historical interest, that a detailed comparison of objects found in the burnt storerooms of the Palace Area, and of fragments from the houses



against the ruins of the city walls, with specimens from the dated tombs, indicates in like manner a total interruption in the life of Bronze Age Jericho about the end of the 15th century B.C.

*Iron Age I*, c. 1200 B.C.—Though it cannot be supposed that a site with so many advantages remained altogether uninhabited, the next trace of occupation brings us to the age of the Ramesides, if not to the Iron Age, about 1200 B.C., and in this respect the evidence from the city and the necropolis is also in agreement. Overlaying and by the side of the Palace Area of the Bronze Age lies a well-marked stratum of the Early Iron Age; its remarkable features are a cobble-paved street ascending in steps to the top of the mound; and the foundations of a considerable building with stout stone walls. In the necropolis there was found one tomb of this period (no. 11); it was isolated from the rest and differed entirely in character, being like a pit. The later burials therein had been partially cremated. With them were associated a number of large armlets of bronze and some of iron. Most instructive, however, was a scarab showing a northern deity—a type of Hadad, standing upon the back of an animal, like the consort of the Mother-Goddess at Hierapolis Syriae. It appears probable from these indications that one of the Pharaohs, perhaps Ramses II, but more probably Ramses III, established on the mound over the spring an outpost of northern mercenaries (Sherdens, or Philistines, or maybe Hittites), whose burial practices differed so radically from those of the old population; and if the scarab bearing the name of Thutmose III, found in the same pit, really belongs to that king's reign, it would appear that such a garrison had been installed when the city was first annexed to the Egyptian Empire. [One or two graves among the Bronze Age group in the west of the necropolis contained superficial Iron Age deposits, which will be described in due course. One other grave, no. 18, contained a larger deposit of Iron Age pottery (E.I.A. ii), having been emptied and used as a kiln about 900 B.C.]

The work this season, as in the past, was done entirely by voluntary helpers; the repairing and general supervision in camp and storerooms by my wife, anthropometry and photography by Mr. Harold Falconer, paintings by Mr. H. B. Gray, drawings by Boulos Eff. Araj and Miss Mabel Ratcliffe, field notes in the city by Dr. Aage Schmidt, registration and records by Mlle. J. Krausse, and the cataloguing by my daughter

Meroë. The scarabs, eighty in number, were all examined and reported on by Professor Percy E. Newberry, who with great kindness travelled from Cairo specially for the purpose. One and all of these helpers are sincerely to be thanked for their special efforts to cope with the excess of work involved in these discoveries. Sir Charles Marston, the constant patron of these researches, was generously seconded on this occasion by Mr. Davies Bryan in the interests of the University Museum, Aberystwyth. Other collaborating institutions were the Musées du Louvre (Paris), the University of Liverpool and the City Museum of Leeds.

In accordance with the regulations, the first selection of objects found remains in the Palestine Museum, Jerusalem. Those accruing to the expedition have been deposited in the several institutions mentioned, in addition to the Hunterian Museum of Glasgow University, the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford, and the Musées Royaux de l'Art et de l'Histoire at Brussels. So far as this distribution had actually taken place at the time of going to press, the present location of each specimen is noted in the descriptive letterpress facing the plates of drawings.

It is gratifying to be able to announce Sir Charles Marston has signified his intention of making renewed provision for the complete excavation of the Palace Site; a fresh expedition is being organised accordingly to undertake this investigation in the spring of 1933.

The drawings and plates which illustrate this Report have been prepared and arranged for publication by Miss Mabel Ratcliffe.

## II. EARLY BRONZE AGE. (Supplement to pp. 8-12)

Unfortunately the only tomb, no. 24, which contained distinctively Early Bronze Age vases was found to have been largely disturbed and almost emptied. It was of the grotto class, and lay to the south of this area, where several other tombs remain to be examined. Further description is accordingly postponed. Thirteen vases found in the excavation of the shaft and chamber are all shown together here in Fig. 8, but only five of them, nos. 2-6, can be said to have been found in their original position. The tabulated description which accompanies this figure is arranged on the same lines as those which face the plates of pottery, Pls. XXVII *sqq.* The grotto extended west and north-west (unlike those of M.B.A., which tended uniformly south or south-west);

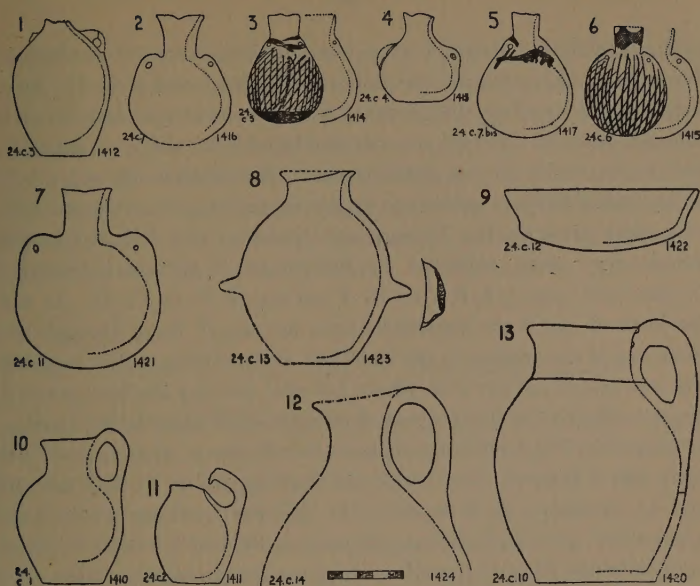


Fig. 8.

Pl. no. Cat. no.

- 1 1412 Juglet of brick ware and slip, burnished; two handles, both broken; flat bottom; wheel made; built up from fragments. 24. c. 3.
- 2 1416 Juglet of drab ware, brick finish; globular shape; two pierced ear handles at base of neck; hand made; broken. 24. c. 7.
- 3 1414 Juglet of drab ware and slip; two pierced ear handles at base of neck; decorated with red lines; hand made; broken. 24. c. 5.
- 4 1413 Juglet of brick ware, grey finish; two pierced ear handles on shoulders, one broken; flat bottom; hand made. 24. c. 4.
- 5 1417 Juglet of drab ware, with coarse grit and rough surface; two pierced ear handles; hand made; repaired from fragments. 24. c. 7 bis.
- 6 1415 Juglet of drab ware and finish; globular shape; two pierced ear handles at base of neck; decorated with brownish-red lines crossing from base upwards; hand made. 24. c. 6.
- 7 1421 Juglet of thick brick ware, originally wet-smoothed; two pierced ear handles on shoulders; hand made; fragmentary. 24. c. 11.
- 8 1423 Jug of drab ware with red slip, burnished; two wavy ledge handles, one missing; flat bottom; hand made. 24. c. 13.
- 9 1422 Dish of drab ware with yellowish slip, burnished; semi-metallic form; repaired from fragments from tomb-debris. 24. c. 12.
- 10 1410 Jug of brick ware with traces of burnished slip; one handle; mouth broken; flat bottom; hand made. 24. c. 1.
- 11 1411 Jug of light brick ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; neck missing; flat bottom; hand made. 24. c. 2.
- 12 1424 Neck and handle of large jug of drab ware with grey slip, burnished; lip broken; hand made. 24. c. 14.
- 13 1420 Jug of light brick ware, with grit, wet-smoothed; one handle; neck wheel finished; circular mouth; flat bottom; wheel finished; built up from fragments. 24. c. 10.



at the extreme end a small portion of an original interment on the floor level seems to have escaped the pilferers' attentions, and these five vases were found grouped together between scanty human traces and the rock side of the cavern. The other vases were found in the shaft and entrance, and at first sight are not homogeneous. Nevertheless the series 1-10 seems undoubtedly to pertain to E.B.A. ii, and may be compared with recognised types in the Museum at Jerusalem, and included in the Bronze Age series, published in *Bulletin* no. 3 of that institution: in particular, nos. 1, 5, 6, 7 on Pl. I and nos. 9, 10 on Pl. II. In our specimens 3 and 6 the suspension holes are simply bored through the thickness of the pottery at the shoulders of the vessels. This is partly the case also in our no. 5, on which, however, the clay has been pinched together slightly for this purpose, showing the first stage in the forming of a handle. The further development is well seen in other vases of this early period from the city, noticeably those figured on Pl. XII, nos. 16 and 13, as also on Pl. I, no. 23. The high handle of our no. 10 finds a parallel in the early specimens figured on Pl. I of the same *Bulletin*, noticeably nos. 12 and 15, as also among the Jericho series from the city, to be seen, for example, on our Pl. XII, no. 20. Our specimen no. 16 on Pl. I is comparable in form; and the handle, which is missing, may be judged from the indications on the pot itself to have risen in similar fashion above the level of the rim.

The pottery vessels numbered 8, 12, and 13 in our figure are comparable with types already familiar in the series from Tomb A, which we assign to M.B.A. i, as may be readily seen by comparing them respectively with no. 10 on Pl. VII, nos. 5 and 8 on Pl. V, and nos. 13 and 14 on Pl. VI. This does not gainsay the possibility of their having formed part of the original deposit, which would then represent a period of transition or overlap between E.B.A. ii and M.B.A. i; indeed, the ledge handle below the waistline of the vessel numbered 8 in our figure can be traced definitely into association with the painted wares of E.B.A. (*Bull. cit.*, Pl. IV, nos. 7, 8, etc.), and is a distinguishing feature of the predynastic pottery of Egypt. Vessel no. 9 of our series, however, evokes a question; and after comparing all the resemblant specimens from the later tombs (now in course of publication) we cannot include it with the group as a whole, nor explain its presence in the tomb-debris as other than fortuitous. It belongs rather to a well-known series of semi-metallic forms distinctive of the latter half of the Middle

Bronze Age (M.B.A. ii); and to admit its association with the other vessels of this figure would force us to allow to this deposit a range of period and of time (from E.B.A. ii to M.B.A. ii) much longer than is justified by its other contents and without parallel in any other tomb. The further excavation of the vicinity, in which two other tombs have been located, may throw definite light upon this question. All these specimens from Tomb 24 have been deposited in the Louvre Museum, Paris, where they are now on exhibition.

### III. MIDDLE BRONZE AGE (i). (Continued from p. 22)

The lowest level of Tomb A, left over from the previous season, provided the first task of the season. In the previous instalment of this Report we described the position and character of this burial place, of which a photograph appeared on Pl. XVII, and the registration plans of four successive levels were reproduced on Pls. XIII-XVI. The plan of layer 4 (the first being numbered A 0), published herewith on Pl. XXVI, completes this series, and thus shows the positions of objects found at the bottom of the tomb, practically upon the rock. The new finds numbered some 200, giving a total of 700 vases and other objects (trinkets, bone carvings, etc.) in a depth of debris measuring some 120 cm. The find-spots have been recorded by layers; but the latter, it should be explained, were not features of the deposits, but represent a method adopted by ourselves for convenience of registration. The deposits, human and ceramic, should rather be visualised as a single pile of remains, formed by heaping the burials and funerary offerings one upon the other as the floor space became filled. Then from time to time the desiccated remains were swept aside to make room for fresh interments, the process being continued it would seem for some generations. It is evident that only the uppermost layers offered any hope of retrieving complete burials, but the fall of the original roof of the grotto, many tons in weight, had reduced these mostly to fragments and dismembered remains (cf. Pls. XIII, XIV). Under these circumstances it is not easy to give even an approximate idea of the number of interments which had been made within this chamber; but making allowance for the considerable quantity of fragmentary remains which could not be registered individually, the number may have been more than 500. Now, while



the most striking features of the pottery vessels (illustrated on Pls. II-VIII and XXVII-XXVIII) are undoubtedly their unfamiliarity and variety of form, the variation within the several types is limited. While, on the one hand, in a few instances they reflect the characteristics of the E.B.A. specimens (*e.g.* on Pl. VIII, 7, 9, 13, and on Pl. XXVIII, 5), and on the other hand, though more distantly, herald the developments of the ensuing phase, M.B.A. ii (*e.g.* Pl. II, 19, Pl. III, 5 and 10, Pl. V, 11, Pl. XXVII, 3 and 10, Pl. XXVIII, 11), the contact is not enough to suggest an overlapping on either side. The group as a whole is distinct, varied and yet harmonious, as well as technically homogeneous as to fabric. If, then, we assign a range of 250 years to the series it is possibly excessive: 200 years may be nearer the mark. So that, on these slender indications, the burial chamber was probably that of a clan or family of not more than 100 persons. This figure is too small to represent the whole population of Jericho within the walls of City B, and accordingly other burial places of the period may be found in the vicinity.

We had thought it probable that the lowest layer of this tomb would give us the earliest types; but for the reasons given this proved only partially the case. The specimens illustrated on Pls. XXVII and XXVIII in general resemble those already published on Pls. II-VIII, though showing some marked variation in detail or some distinctive feature; and even these are but a selection of 35 from more than 200 familiar types. Certainly the specimens nos. 4, 5, 14 on Pl. XXVIII may be classed among the earliest examples of the group, but they are not necessarily earlier than various specimens from upper levels figured on Pls. VII and VIII. Among the instructive details in this recent series are the anthropomorphic features (*e.g.* nos. 2, 8, 11 on Pl. XXVII) in which the suggestion of arms and breasts reveals a Babylonian prototype, the Cypriote contact seen in the technique of the jug numbered 10 on Pl. XXVII, the early appearance of a pedestal-dish, no. 11 on Pl. XXVIII, the white-spotted juglet no. 12, and the lamps nos. 15, 16 on the same plate, and through all the total absence of Egyptian influence or motives. It would appear that the fabled exploits of Sesostris never disturbed the peaceful occupations and relations of the Jordan Valley.

Postponing for the time being the classification of pottery types and the detailed study of the specimens, we proceed to make a rapid survey of the tombs discovered during the past season. It will be seen that a



relatively big gulf separates the local ceramic art of the M.B.A. i from that of M.B.A. ii, and if nothing is found to fill the gap in the course of further excavation, it would appear that the rise of the Hyksos period was accompanied by a change in local culture more profound than that which marks the transition between the phases known as the Early, Middle and Late Bronze Ages of current theory.

#### IV. MIDDLE BRONZE AGE (ii)

The tombs of the later periods of the Bronze Age were eventually located between the site of Tomb A, already discussed, and the City mound (for the plan, see p. 19). Tomb 9, which we describe first, lay almost midway between the two. A plan of the area has been prepared and will be published after excavation of the remaining tombs. Briefly, these tombs are of two kinds; the earlier being subterranean chambers or grottos, to which access is gained by a short irregular shaft, and the later being open graves, some not more than a metre in depth, and apparently without cover except for a few large stones piled upon the debris. The tombs tend to form groups, the earliest (E.B.A., Tomb 24) towards the south, the grottos of M.B.A. ii towards the east, and the latest, the shallow graves running into L.B.A. i, towards the west of this area examined.

Tomb 9, the easternmost of all the tombs discovered, proved to be a substantial grotto with a chamber 3 to 4 metres wide, and a shaft 4 metres deep (plan on Pl. XXIX). It belonged to the M.B.A. ii period (c. 1700-1600 B.C.) and contained the finest series of intact vases (cf. Pl. XLII), bronze weapons (Pl. XXXVII) and a unique rhyton (Pl. XLIII), together with a number of scarabs of Hyksos date and style (Pl. XXXVII, at the bottom). The roof of this tomb when opened was found to be in a dangerous condition; the marly-gravel out of which it had been shaped had cracked and dried, and several subsidences occurred during the course of our excavation, happily without doing serious damage. As the removal of the detached masses of roof material would have endangered the deposits, and the position of the workers was made more difficult by violent storms of wind and rain, we were compelled to push on with the clearance of the chamber, and were fortunate enough to be able to secure a complete record of the positions (Pl. XXIX) and

occasional photographs of the interior (Pl. XLIV) and to remove the contents to safety, though naturally without much preliminary study of the details of the deposits *in situ*. As in other grotto tombs, the accumulation of offerings and debris was greatest near the entrance, and it was to be suspected that a number of objects belonging to the latest deposits had found their way down the slope to lower actual levels. It was not until the fourth and fifth layers (*d-e*) were reached (each layer representing a depth of 20 to 25 cm.) that the contents could be regarded as stratified in something like their original sequence. For this reason the selected vase-types from the upper layers (*a-c*) are reproduced together on Pls. XXX-XXXII, while those from the two lowest layers (*d-e*) are shown separately on Pls. XXXIV-XXXVI. The larger vessels of special form from all layers are, however, grouped together on Pl. XXXIII, where they are represented on a smaller scale.

While a general uniformity and continuity in the vase-types from this tomb is obvious from a glance through these drawings, the separation of layers *a, b, c* from layers *d, e* proves to have a real interest, and reflects a certain distinction between the upper and lower groups.

The familiar juglet with small base or with a 'button bottom,' and a divided or semi-divided handle, occurs indiscriminately in both groups, as may be seen by comparing Pls. XXX and XXXIV. But that interesting detail, the small 'button' on the handle, just below the rim, occurs only in the upper series (*e.g.* nos. 4, 7 on Pl. XXX). With regard to the jugs with cylindrical body form, the slightly convex bottom is typical of both (*e.g.* no. 9 on Pl. XXX and no. 11 on Pl. XXXIV), but the definitely flat bottom appears only in the upper group (*e.g.* no. 10 on Pl. XXX); and the same tendency is illustrated by the contrast between no. 8 on the same plate and no. 12 on Pl. XXXIV. The dishes of metallic prototype (Pl. XXXI, 6, Pl. XXXII, 5, and Pl. XXXVI, 2) show a marked variation in form, and this appears proportioned to their depth, that on Pl. XXXVI, 2, from layer *d*, and another, *d* 23, not shown, being indubitably the oldest types. The 'pinched lip' of the tapering jugs (Pls. XXXII, XXXV) is characteristic of both groups, but it may be noted for future reference that while the several examples on Pl. XXXV (nos. 9, 11, 12) show only the first stage in forming a spout, the one preserved specimen on Pl. XXXII (no. 4, from layer *b*), and that shown on Pl. XXXIII, 3, from layer *a*, illustrate a marked development. Lamps, Pl. XXXII, which were found in a rudimentary stage in the

earlier part of the Middle Bronze Age (Tomb A), are now well developed ; they are uniformly round in plan, with a sector of the rim pinched slightly better to hold the wick. Both rounded and flattened bottoms are equally used, as seen in the series from layers *b* and *c* in our illustrations, and this observation will be found to apply to numerous tombs. As we only publish a selection of the lamp-forms, it may be added that a scrutiny of the records of this tomb shows that both forms are equally common in the lower layers. Bases made of three vertical rings adherent to the bottom of the bowl, as illustrated on Pl. XXXIII, are found both in the uppermost and lowest layers ; as also the short spouts to these vessels seen in nos. 5 and 8. The same observation applies also to the goblets such as are figured from layer *b* on Pl. XXXI, nos. 11, 12, but were equally represented in the lower levels.

Of the rarer specimens, such as are seen in the photograph on Pl. XLIV, *b*, the globular jug with handle upon the shoulder and decorated with a red line all round the upper half of the body (Pl. XXX, 11) and the well-finished jug with trefoil rim (XXXII, 8) come from the upper layers ; while the strainer dish with handle (XXXV, 6) and the fine pedestal dish of metallic shape (XXXVI, 1) were found in the lower deposits. The grindstone and gypsum vases shown on Pl. XXX (nos. 13-16) were all found in the upper levels, layer *c*.

The rhyton illustrated in front view and half-profile on Pl. XLIII was found near the bottom of the tomb, in layer *c*, associated with pottery vases of now familiar types (Pl. XLII). Its height is 21.2 cm. (about  $8\frac{3}{4}$  inches), and its chief features may be discerned in the photographs supplemented by the profile-sketch prepared by Miss Ratcliffe here reproduced (Fig. 9). The form of the vessel is almost that of the local goblet with pedestal, but darker in colour ; it is covered with a dark-brown slip, while there are traces of red around the eyes and back of the neck. The nose is unusually prominent though thin, and starts from the forehead : the same peculiarity may be seen in the miniature head on a curious libation vase from Beth Shemesh (*P.E.F. Annual*, 1912-13, Pl. XLVIII) now in the Palestine Museum. The eyes are apparently carved in the pottery after baking, and the hairs of the beard are represented by pinholes in some of which a white material remains, though it was not necessarily original. The ears are exaggerated and drawn out by the sides as though to serve as handles. The 'barbiche' recalls the pictures of Syrian envoys to the Pharaohs as depicted on



Egyptian scenes of the early XVIIIth Dynasty. At the back of the head the hair is represented as cut off somewhat abruptly high up the neck, which was apparently shaved. The object is unique; M. Dussaud compares it with a rhyton of similar date (M.B.A. ii) from Phaistos, on which, however, the hairs are suggested by points of paint. Recalling the resemblances of the miniature from Beth Shemesh, the Jericho rhyton would seem to have been modelled upon a facial type familiar in the country at the time, and we may well ask ourselves if it was not intended to represent a Hyksos leader.

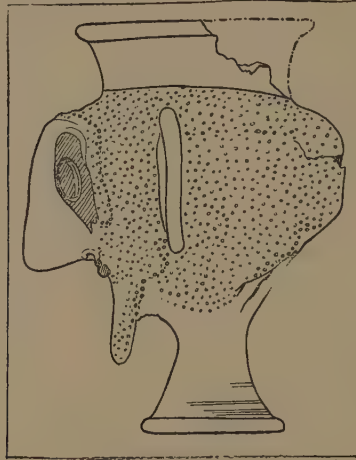


Fig. 9. Scale 1:3.

The bronze implements figured on Pl. XXXVII call for little comment as the types are all familiar; but the grouping is of interest. With the exception of the sharpened dagger no. 6 (which came from layer *c*), all were found in the lowest strata of the tomb. The butts of the handles to the daggers 1 and 2 are made of limestone; their approximate position and method of attachment, as also the mountings of the weapon no. 3, are of course theoretical. The provenance of the broken knife blade of curved shape no. 7, omitted from the drawing, is *e* 12, and its catalogue number is 989. In addition to the bronze objects figured on this plate, and a number of broken pins not calling for illustration, there should be

noticed the brooches represented in the accompanying sketch, Fig. 10. Though the design is simple, the type is not common. The ends of the metal rod are flattened and turned back in such a way as to leave a loop through which passes a movable pin to serve as the attachment. The pin in its turn was probably provided with a small hole by which it was tied to the brooch; this feature is missing from the pins found with the brooches, but is present upon a considerable variety of specimens of this period.

The scarabs found in the excavation of Tomb 9, nine in number, are figured on Pl. XXXVII, nos. 8-16. Nearly all were recovered by sieving

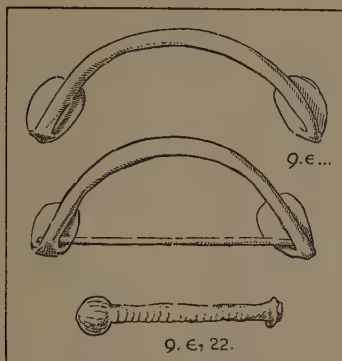


Fig. 10. Scale 1:2.

the debris from inside the tomb: three of them are registered as found in the debris of layer *d*, the rest from the bottom of layer *e*; but too much reliance should not be placed upon this distinction, as small objects naturally tend to percolate towards the bottom with repeated disturbance, such as must have been occasioned by each fresh interment.

The scarabs are all made of glazed steatite, and correspond with types of the later Hyksos period or early XVIIIth Dynasty in Egypt—in round figures 1700-1500 B.C. Professor P. E. Newberry's report includes the following technical details:—

(H.=head; C.=clypeus; P.=prothorax; E=elytra.)

8. Cat. No. 43. Back: H., C.; Legs; well modelled. Hieroglyphs on base. Hyksos.

9. Cat. No. 45. Back : H., C., P., E. Base : Crowns of Lower Egypt with *nb*-sign below. Hyksos to Early XVIIIth Dyn.
10. Cat. No. 44. Back : H., C. ; Legs. Base : Concentric circles symmetrically arranged. Hyksos.
11. Cat. No. 49. Back : H., C., P. marked by notches. Base : symmetrical design. Hyksos to Early XVIIIth Dyn.
12. Cat. No. 50. Back : H., C. ; Eyes ; P. notched. Base : Central column of hieroglyphs, with others in field, surrounded by rope border. Hyksos.
13. Cat. No. 42. Back : H., C., P. ; Legs. Base : Hieroglyphs with collar below. Hyksos to Early XVIIIth Dyn.
14. Cat. No. 46. Back : H., C., P., E. Base : symmetrical coils. Hyksos to Early XVIIIth Dyn.
15. Cat. No. 48. Back : H., C. ; Eyes ; P. marked by notches. Base : variant of No. 14. Hyksos to Early XVIIIth Dyn.
16. Cat. No. 47. Back : H., C., P. marked by notches ; Legs. Base : variant of no. 14. Hyksos to Early XVIIIth Dyn.

It is thus to be seen that while three of the scarabs (nos. 8, 10, 12) conform with Hyksos types in Egypt, and hence presumably belong to that period, six of them are of a style which is found also in the early part of the XVIIIth Dynasty. This distinction recalls what we have seen of a certain difference or modification in the various ceramic types, when comparing the contents of the bottom layers with those of the higher levels ; though it is to be noticed that no Egyptian objects or motives are found in the contents of this tomb.

It is our present object to publish as quickly as possible the vast material from these tombs with only such comment as may be necessary in order that they may be available for general use. When the first rapid survey has been made, we propose to return to a more systematic and statistical classification of the contents, with a view to establishing the sequence and time-scales of the various types. For the present, suffice it to say, then, in concluding our present review of Tomb 9, that it contained 265 vases in all, conforming with the types reproduced. Alike in quality of finish, variety of form, and decorative tendencies, they constitute the richest group of the whole series. They represent the



local art of Jericho towards the latter end of the Middle Bronze Age, overlapping the Hyksos period and the beginning of the XVIIIth Dynasty, covering perhaps two hundred years of the 18th, 17th and 16th centuries B.C. During this time, notwithstanding certain variations and modifications noticed when comparing the upper and lower levels, the ceramic types of the period underwent relatively little change.

**Tomb 12.** (Pls. XXXIX and XL, 1, 2; plan and scarabs on Pl. XXXVIII.) Large groups of vases, with their numerous types and multiple varieties, from tombs which served as burial places continuously during successive generations, such as no. 9, which we have discussed, offer special difficulties to visual analysis. They can best be dealt with by statistics when the type series has been established. For this purpose the smaller groups, though not so likely to be complete in themselves, offer definite advantages, and in the end, by comparison of one such with another, contribute more readily and surely to establishing of the sequence of vase forms and the building up of the type series.

Tomb 12 yielded one such group. It was of the grotto class, with a small and shallow shaft not more than 1 m. deep, and with a further drop, after passing its narrow opening, to the chamber floor. As may be seen by reference to the plan and sections on Pl. XXXVIII, the interior was relatively spacious, having a greatest width of 3 m., with a height of about half as much. This tomb, it should be noted, lay towards the west of the necropolis, on the eastern confines of a group of open graves to be considered in due course. Its nearest neighbours in the general plan of the area are nos. 20 and 22, from which it lay S.E. and E. respectively at a distance of about 15 m.

This tomb had been disturbed; pottery objects were found only around the sides of the chamber, nos. 1, 2, 3 and 13, to the left of the opening, the others towards the right; their positions are marked on the field plan on Pl. XXXVIII, layer *a*. At floor level were found traces of five or six interments; the bones were distributed fairly generally over the area, except near the entrance; and though we keep a record of their positions we do not find it informative enough for publication, as there is hardly one bone near to its fellow. Portions of five skulls are noted, four lying against the right-hand (or northern) edge of the floor of the tomb. Two of these skulls seemed to represent males and one a female; on the others the frontal bones were missing. The period of these inter-

ments is indicated by the five scarabs found in sieving the debris of the chamber, Pl. XXXVIII, 1-5. All, in the opinion of Professor Newberry, are of Hyksos date and style (1700-1600). This would not in itself preclude the possibility of the deposits running rather later; but, the pottery vases found within conform well with this indication. Seventeen of these were found intact or in sufficiently good condition for their forms to be ascertained, Pls. XXXIX and XL; but it is fairly clear that they represent only a proportion of the original contents of this tomb. With the possible exception of Pl. XXXIX, 8, they form, however, a characteristic and harmonious series, which may usefully be compared with the objects from Tomb 9 and others to follow.

The 'punctuated' juglet, Pl. XXXIX, 1, is typical of the Hyksos period, like that from Tomb 9 (Pl. XXX, 6), though differing in detail of decoration. The more cylindrical juglet no. 4 has a slightly convex bottom, and only a suggestion of a division in the handle. The pointed juglets nos. 5, 6, 7 are without collar, and the one preserved lip is slightly turned over, rather than pinched, to form the spout. No. 12 is less familiar and recalls a form known in Egypt in the early XVIIIth Dynasty (Garstang, *Arabah*, Pl. XXVIII; Tomb 255, of the age of Amenhetep II, etc.). The bowl, no. 13, lacks the sharp lines of the early models. The goblets 14 and 15 have developed pedestals, and the latter has a collar. The lamps (nos. 9, 10, 11) show that round, rounding, and also flat-shaped bottoms must have been contemporaneously in use. Of the two remaining vases, shown at the top of Pl. XL, the handle of no. 10 is somewhat lower on the shoulder (as compared with 9 d, 7, shown on Pl. XXXIV, 13), and the form of the vessel is more oblate. Lastly, the tall and well-preserved jug 12 a, 1 (Pl. XL, 2) shows a flattened bottom with a slightly pinched lip. Further details of technical character will be found on the schedule facing the plate.

Professor Newberry's report upon the scarabs describes all five as made of glazed steatite and of Hyksos style. Further details, with reference to Pl. XXVIII, 1-5, are as follows:—

(H.=head; C.=clypeus; P.=prothorax.)

1. Cat. No. 54. Back: H., C., P. notched. Base: concentric circles.
2. Cat. No. 57. Back: H., C., Eyes; legs finely cut; ring around threading hole. Base: Hathor-headed sistrum within a double rope border.

3. Cat. No. 58. Back : broken. Base : semi-coil pattern.
4. Cat. No. 56. Back : H., C., P. notched ; legs well modelled. Base : hieroglyphs within a scroll border.
5. Cat. No. 55. Back : H., C., P. not marked ; legs ; ring around threading holed. Base : scrolls within a rope border.

Looking at this tomb group as a whole, though not complete, we find it to be free from Egyptian motives and to embody types well established as characteristic of M.B.A. ii. In form and style they reflect the later rather than the earlier tendencies of the period if there is any reality in the distinction we have drawn between the upper and lower layers of Tomb 9. Taking also into consideration the position of the tomb and the nature of the scarabs, we are inclined to assign this group tentatively to a date near the end of the Hyksos period—about 1650-1600 or just later.

**Tomb No. 22** provided one of the most interesting groups of the M.B.A. series. It was found in the S.W. of the necropolis, near Tomb 4, which will be next described, and like its fellow furnishes a fine assortment of M.B.A. ii types and some Egyptian contacts. It is of the grotto class, and proved to contain 82 objects, which were registered in three layers (*b*, *c*, *d*), reserving the letter '*a*' for fragments found in the shaft. The plan and section are given in Pl. XXXVIII, and show a shaft and entrance similar to those of Tomb 12, but a chamber more compact and distinctly smaller, measuring in fact only 1.75 m. in width. The contents had been disturbed, but may be regarded as relatively complete. As in Tomb no. 12, the objects tended to range themselves noticeably around the sides at the bottom of the chamber (note layer *d*), having been brushed aside, leaving the middle space fairly clear of all but the human remains. These, as before, we do not publish, though we keep the record : it tells the same story of numerous desiccated burials which had been turned over more than once, so that they reveal no trace of the original position. Nor can it be claimed that the find-spots of the three layers indicate the original positions of the objects, but they may help to determine their relative ages. The forms of the vases from Tomb 22 are figured on Pls. XL (3 onwards), XLI and XLI *bis* ; an impression of their character may be gathered from the photograph reproduced on Pl. XLV, *b*, while the upper picture (*a*) shows the appearance of one corner of the tomb during the process of clearing its bottom layer.

The first vase from this tomb, Pl. XL, 3, is unique as far as these tombs have been excavated, and recalls somewhat the group of contemporary vessels found in northern Phoenicia in 1926. The metallic forms nos. 5 and 7, compared with those of Tomb 9 (Pls. XXXII, 5, and XXXVI, 2), show points of resemblance to both types. The goblets (4, 8, 9) stand on developed pedestals, two of them have also a collar, a feature which appears somewhat exceptionally on the juglet XLI, 2. On this plate, the object no. 1 provides a fine illustration of the Hyksos punctuated wares, being of the same form as that from Tomb 12 (XXXIX, 1). The broad jug no. 3 shows a handle set much lower on the shoulder than in the examples already seen from Tomb 9 (XXXIV, 13) and from Tomb 12 (XL, 1); and the tendency to bulge about the waist-line is more marked. The faience vessel no. 4 and the alabaster kohl pot no. 5 both suggest Egyptian contact, both types having been found in tombs at Abydos (*Arâbah*, Pl. XII, Tomb 122, and Pl. XVIII, Tomb 143) in a necropolis which covered precisely the period of these tombs (Hyksos and early XVIIIth Dynasty). Juglets 7, 8, 9 have gently convex bottoms and the semblance of divided handles; while 10 illustrates the flatter base, and the 'button' near the top of the handle seen previously in the upper layers of Tomb 9 (Pl. XXX, 7, 10). The ridge or break in the body of no. 11 is unusual, and perhaps resulted from an experimental joining of the base. Of the pointed juglets 12-14, the last shows a collar at the bottom of a somewhat lengthy neck, and a lip which is gently turned over all around with a slightly pinched-in spout; the series of types continues on Pl. XLI *bis*, whereon are figured a series of dishes, bowls and lamps. The first named are flat-bottomed, but a developed ring base is seen in the fine bowl of Cypriote character, no. 4; the herring-bone device which decorates no. 5 is a distinctive feature, found on other examples in these tombs. The lamps (7-10) form an instructive series. The first is a makeshift, fashioned of old from the bottom of a broken vessel; but the others are characteristic, and show, like the other tombs, that the round, rounding, and flattened bottoms do not indicate stages of evolution but were equally familiar at this time and in contemporaneous use. Among the specimens not figured should be mentioned two grindstones of the type shown on Pl. XXX, no. 16, from layer *c* of Tomb 9, and a number of carved bone inlays.

It appears from this rapid survey of these deposits that the contents of Tomb 22 were more or less contemporary, and tend (like those of Tomb 12)



to find their parallels in the upper layers of Tomb 9. The scarabs, Pl. XXXVIII, 6-14, are, according to Professor Newberry's report, all of Hyksos style, and are similar to scarabs of the Hyksos period in Egypt. Some of like type were found in the necropolis of Abydos already mentioned. Nos. 9 and 14 show names written in Syrian hieroglyphs within cartouches: the former is a familiar example of the Ra-n-Ra group; but the latter would seem (in the writer's view) to be distinct, and to represent a royal name. Professor Newberry's detailed description of these scarabs, which as usual are made of glazed steatite, reads as follows:—

(H.=head; C.=clypeus; P.=prothorax.)

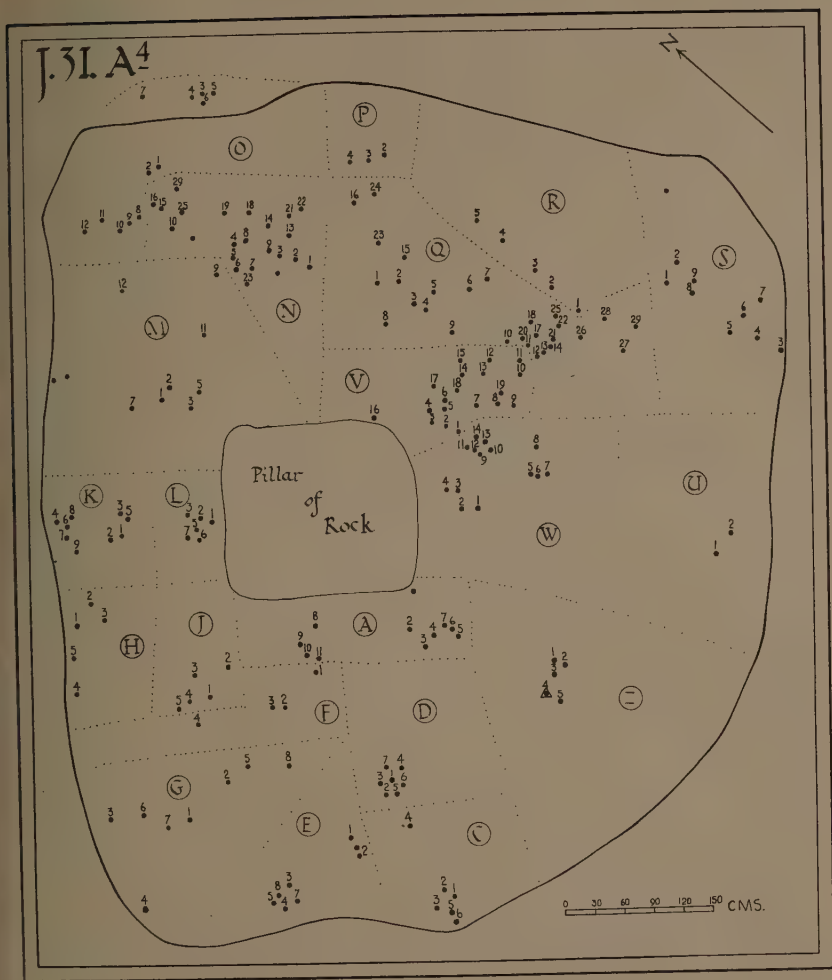
6. Cat. No. 83. Back: H., C., Eyes, P. notched. Base: hieroglyph within coiled border. Hyksos.
7. Cat. No. 82. Back: H., C.; Eyes; Legs. Base: diverging spirals. Hyksos.
8. Cat. No. 84. Back: H., C., P. notched. Base: hawk-headed figure. Hyksos.
9. Cat. No. 88. Back: H., C., P. notched; legs well cut, with ring around threading-hole. Base: cartouche of hieroglyphs surrounded by hieroglyphs. Hyksos.
10. Cat. No. 86. Back: H., C., P. notched; legs indicated. Base: cartouche of hieroglyphs within coiled border. Hyksos.
11. Cat. No. 85. Back: H., C., P. notched; legs well cut, with ring round threading-hole. Base: coils, etc. Hyksos.
12. Cat. No. 87. Back: H., C., legs well carved. Base: hieroglyphs within coiled border and rope surround. Hyksos.
13. Cat. No. 89. Back: H., C., Eyes, P. notched; well-cut legs with ring around threading-hole. Base: hieroglyphs within loop-pattern border. Hyksos.
14. Cat. No. 90. Back: H., C., Eyes; legs well cut with ring around threading-hole. Base: hieroglyphs within cartouche, surrounded by coiled border. Hyksos.

Looking broadly at this group of objects, and having due regard to the position of the tomb, the nature of the scarabs and the relatively few Egyptian contacts, it would seem to fall readily into line with

the deposits of Tomb 9, to cover the period of Tomb 12, and to extend somewhat into the early XVIIIth Dynasty. We would assign to it tentatively an approximate range of a hundred to a hundred and fifty years, during the 17th and 16th centuries B.C.

*Postscript.*—Charts illustrating the depth, sequence and frequency of these vase-types are nearing completion and will be published with the next instalment of this Report. They show that the Middle Bronze Age culture represented by these tomb-deposits persisted, in Jericho at any rate, until the age of Thutmose III (1500-1450 B.C.). While they do not provide the earlier limit to the series, they suggest a longer range of time to be covered than the first visual impression had indicated. The approximate dates assigned to the deposits above have been adjusted accordingly, but the figures already printed at the foot of Plates XLII and XLV require a corresponding extension.

*(To be continued.)*



JERICO, 1931. PLAN OF TOMB A, LAYER 4 (FLOOR LEVEL), SHOWING POSITION OF FIND-SPOTS BY LETTERED GROUPS. CF. PLS. XIII-XVI.

(A selection of pottery vessels, etc., found in this layer is illustrated in PIs. xxvii-xxviii)

# JERICHO, 1931.

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVII, REPRESENTING JUGLETS AND JUGS FROM TOMB A, LAYER 4 (M.B.I). SUPPLEMENTARY TO PLATES II AND V.

No.

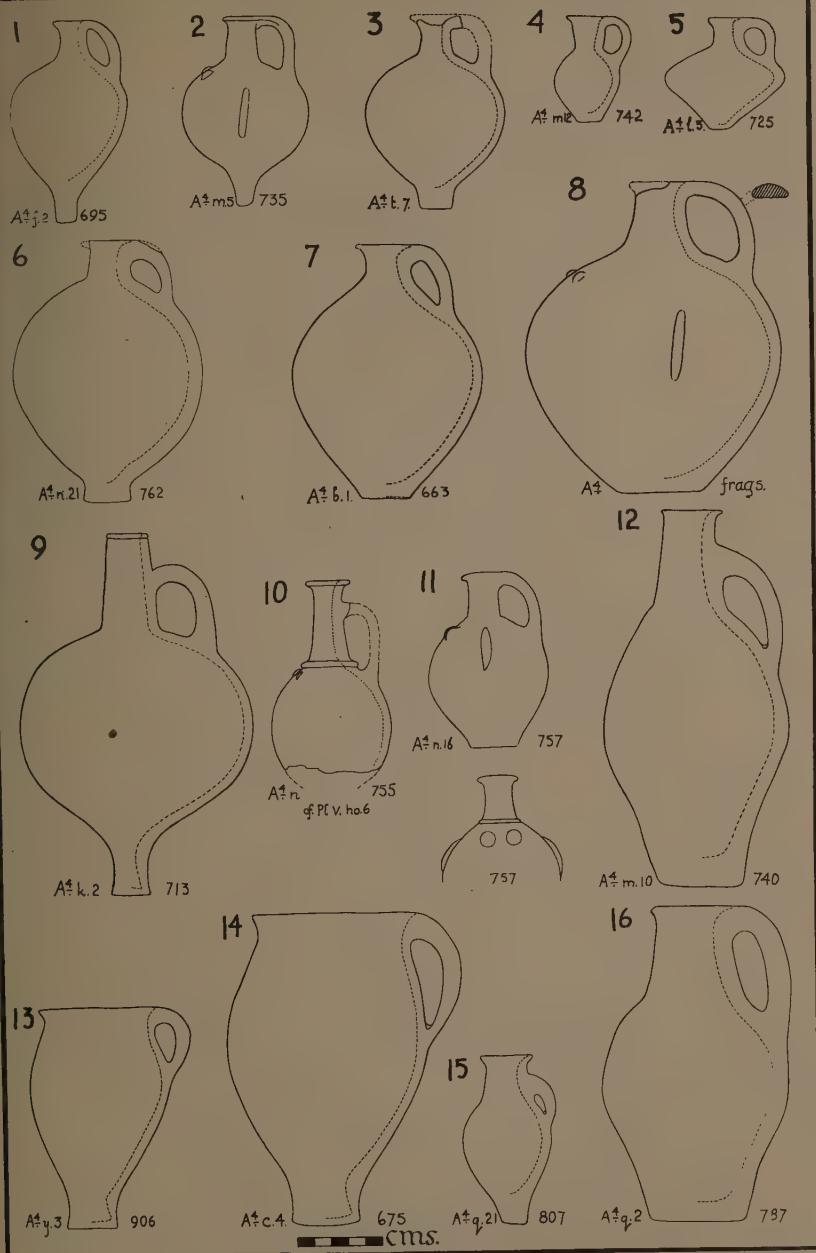
1. Cat. No. 695. Juglet of yellow-red ware, burnished; tapering base; flat bottom. A4. f. 2.
2. Cat. No. 735. Juglet of yellow-red ware, burnished; very tapering base; flattened bottom; has two bosses and two arms. A4. m. 5.
3. Cat. No. 837. Juglet of yellow ware, very gritty, with red slip, originally burnished; pedestal base; part of handle missing; hand made. A4. t. 7 (L.C.M.).
4. Cat. No. 742. Juglet of pottery; with funnel-shaped neck and flat bottom. A4. m. 12 (L.).
5. Cat. No. 725. Juglet of yellow-red ware, surface now rough; piriform; hand made. A4. l. 3 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 762. Juglet of globular shape, with short flattened base. A4. n. 21.
7. Cat. No. 663. Juglet of yellowish red ware, with red slip, burnished; flattened base; hand made. A4. b. 1.
8. Frags. Large juglet of greyish ware with grits; has two arms and two bosses; flat bottom; repaired from fragments. A4.
9. Cat. No. 713. Jug of yellow-red ware, small grit; originally burnished; thin compact ware; elongated hollow base, flattened. A4. k. 2 (L.).
10. Cat. No. 755. Juglet of pottery, with two bosses and collar round base of neck. Cf. Pl. V, No. 6. A4. n. 14 (I.A.L.).
11. Cat. No. 757. Juglet of grey ware; with two arms and two bosses; flat bottom; wet-smoothed. A4. n. 16 (L.).
12. Cat. No. 740. Jug of brick ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; tapering neck and flat bottom. A4. m. 10 (L.).
13. Cat. No. 906. Jug with wide mouth and one handle; tapering base with flattened bottom; in fragments. A4. y. 3 (L.).
14. Cat. No. 675. Jug with wide mouth and one handle; tapering base with flat bottom. A4. c. 4.
15. Cat. No. 807. Juglet with one handle; tapering bottom flattened; A4. q. 21 (L.).
16. Cat. No. 787. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; with one handle and flat bottom. A4. q. 2 (L.).

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Note: U.M.A. = University Museum, Aberystwyth.  
 L. = Louvre.  
 P.M.J. = Palestine Museum, Jerusalem.  
 I.A.L. = Institute of Archaeology, Liverpool.  
 L.C.M. = Leeds City Museum.

*The unbracketed letters and figures at the end of each entry give the provenance.*



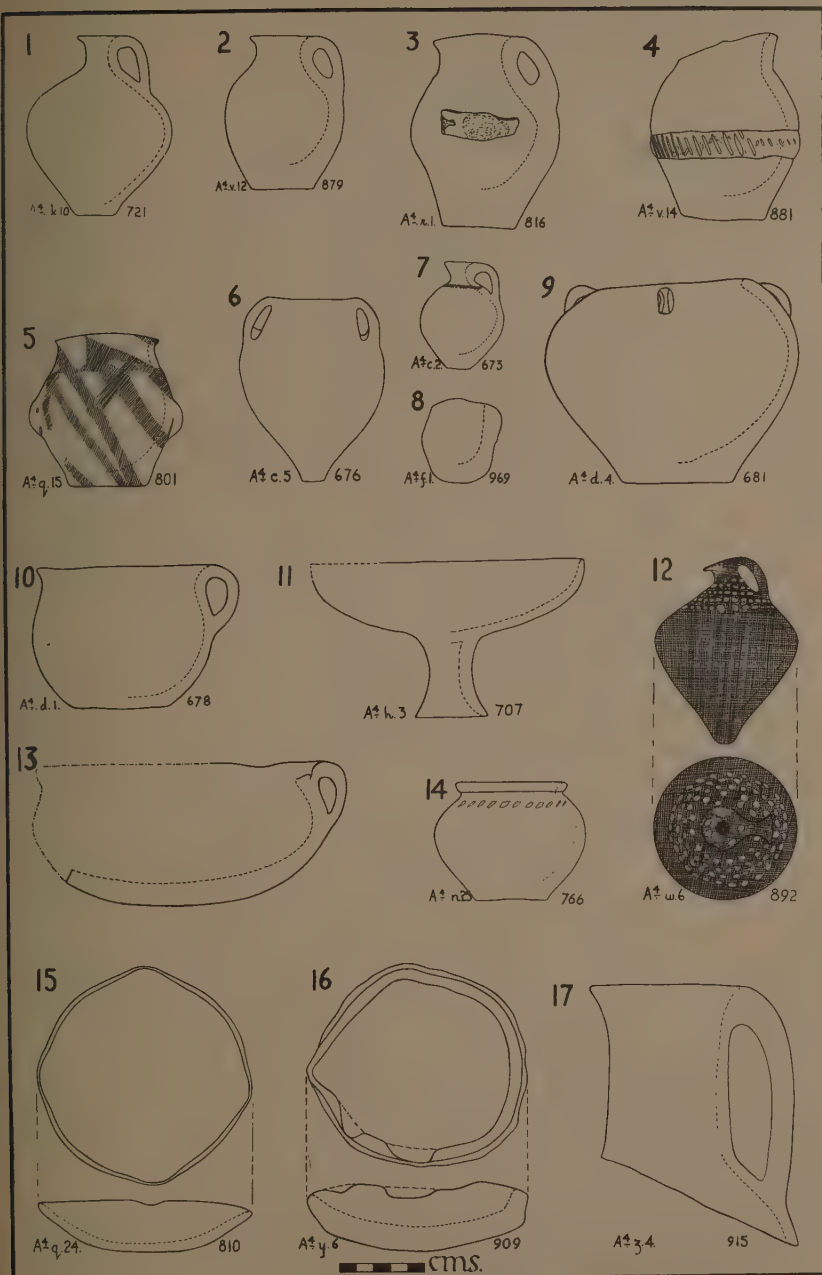


## JERICHO, 1931.

### DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXVIII. SELECTION OF VESSELS FROM TOMB A, LAYER 4, ILLUSTRATING VARIOUS DETAILS OF FORM AND DECORATION. CF. PL. VII.

No.

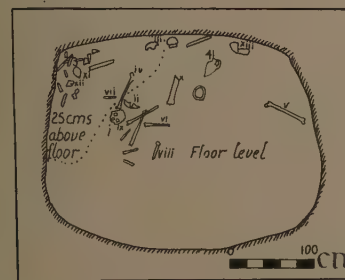
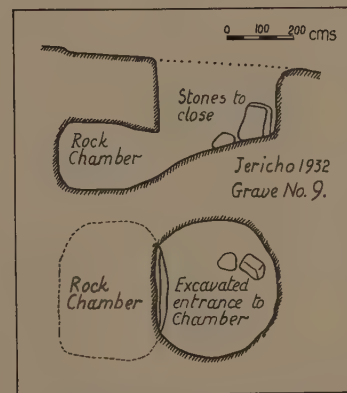
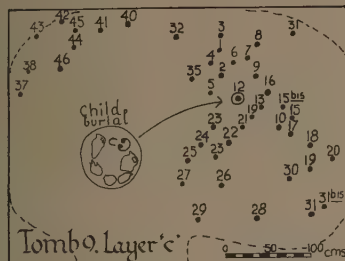
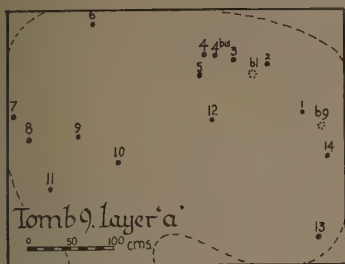
1. Cat. No. 721. Juglet of yellow-red ware, with mixed grit, red slip; piriform but with base flattened; hand made. A4. k. 10 (I.A.L.).
2. Cat. No. 879. Juglet, small, of dull ware, wet-smoothed; having one handle and flat bottom. A4. v. 12.
3. Cat. No. 816. Jug with broken ledge-handle and one vertical handle at neck; bottom slightly concave. A4. r. 1 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 881. Vase of dull pottery, with out-turned rim and flat bottom, and a raised band below the middle decorated by incisions; wheel-finished. A4. v. 14 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 801. Vase with two side handles and flat bottom; decorated with dull red stripes on red surface; wheel-finished. A4. q. 15 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 676. Jug of dull ware, having two handles and a flattened base which is slightly concave; hand made. A4. c. 5 (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 673. Juglet of yellow-red ware, wet-smoothed; flattened base; indented ornament round base of neck. A4. c. 2 (L.).
8. Cat. No. 969. Cup of drab ware with coarse grit and very uneven surface. A4. f. 1.
9. Cat. No. 681. Bowl of tan ware; having four suspension handles and flat bottom. A4. d. 4 (P.M.J.).
10. Cat. No. 678. Bowl of tan ware, having one handle, and flattened bottom; hand made; imperfect. A4. d. 1 (L.).
11. Cat. No. 707. Dish on pedestal; of drab ware with grit, wet-smoothed; traces of wheel-finish to be seen on the pedestal. A4. h. 3 (L.).
12. Cat. No. 892. Juglet of black ware; piriform with slightly elongated bottom. The upper half, rim and handle, are decorated with white spots. A4. w. 6 (P.M.J.).
13. Cat. No. 672. Bowl of pottery; has one handle preserved; fragmentary. A4. c. 1 (P.M.J.).
14. Cat. No. 766. Pot with out-turned rim and incised ornament around shoulder; flat bottom; repaired from fragments. A4. n. 25.
15. Cat. No. 810. Lamp of brick ware, wet-smoothed; very flat shape, with four spouts; wheel-finished; broken. A4. q. 24 (L.).
16. Cat. No. 909. Lamp of thick drab pottery with rounding bottom. A4. y. 6.
17. Cat. No. 915. Neck and handle (fragment), of large one-handled jug; hand made; wheel-finished. A4. z. 4 (L.).



JERICHO, 1931. TOMB A. A SELECTION OF VESSELS (COMPLETION) ILLUSTRATING VARIOUS DETAILS OF FORM AND DECORATION (CF. PL. VII); ALSO LAMPS. M.B.I.







- i. Skull, without mandible.
- ii Skull portion of cranial vault and portion of frontal bone.
- iii Skull and portion of frontal bone.
- iv Femur, left. v Femur, left. vi Tibia
- vii Portion of fibula. viii Portion of Humerus. ix Humerus. x Portion of Tibia. xi Sacrum. xii Portion of femur. xiii Fragments of Skull.

JERICO, 1932. TOMB 9. PLANS OF LAYERS A-E, SHOWING FIND-SPOTS OF DEPOSITS; PLAN AND SECTION OF THE TOMB. M.B.II: 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES B.C

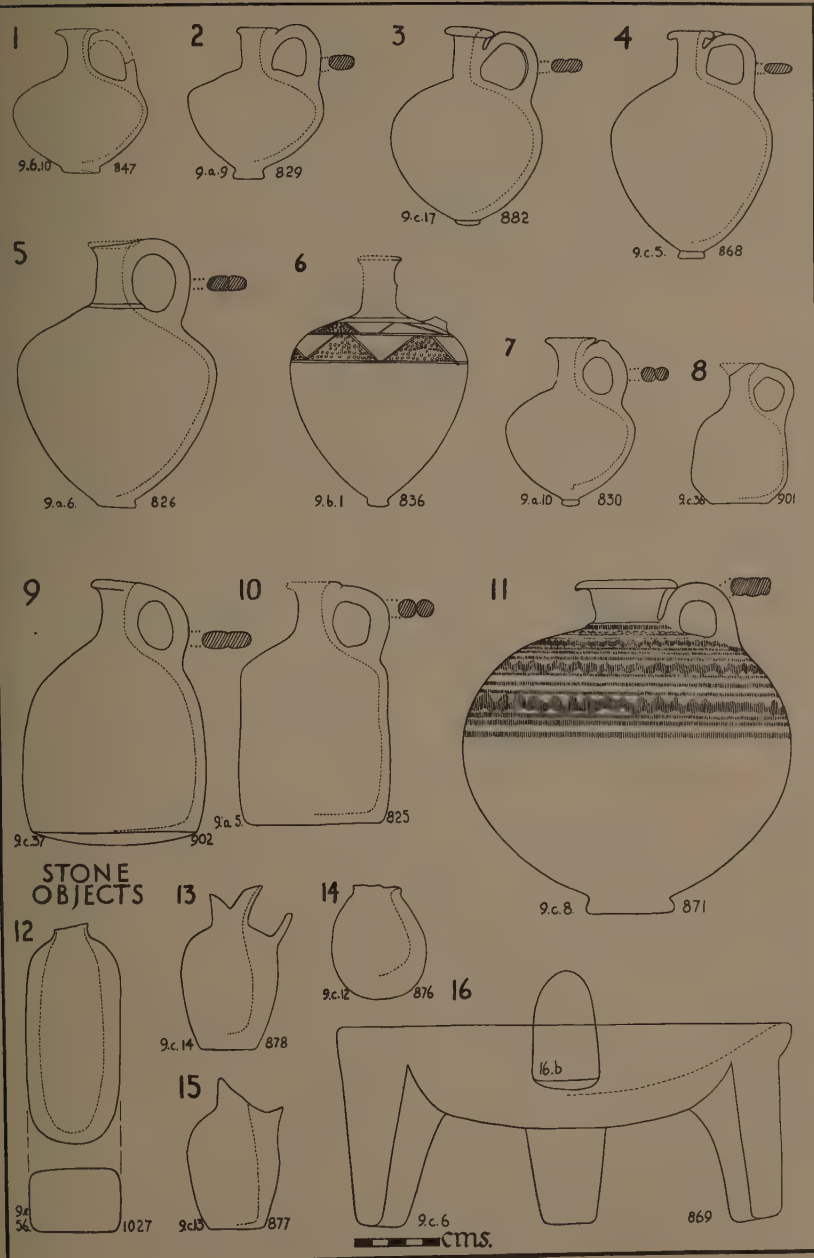
## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXX, SHOWING JUGLETS AND STONE OBJECTS FROM LAYERS A, B, AND C (M.B.II); APPROXIMATE DATE, 16TH CENTURY B.C.

No.

1. Cat. No. 847. Juglet of grey-brown ware, with grey slip, burnished; ring bottom. 9. b. 10 (P.M.J.).
2. Cat. No. 829. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; piriform; button bottom; wheel made. 9. a. 9 (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 882. Juglet of dark ware and slip; double handle; button bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 17 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 868. Juglet of brick ware, with slip, burnished; has a button on single handle; button bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 5 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 826. Juglet of black ware with slip and burnished; double handle with button; piriform; wheel made. 9. a. 6 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 836. Juglet of black ware, with broken handle and button bottom; punctuated ornament on upper half arranged in triangles. 9. b. 1 (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 830. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; double handle with button; wheel made; neck broken. 9. a. 10 (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 901. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; flat bottom. 9. c. 36 (P.M.J.).
9. Cat. No. 902. Juglet of grey ware and slip, burnished; double handle; bottom slightly convex. 9. c. 37 (P.M.J.).
10. Cat. No. 825. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; double handle; wheel made. 9. a. 5 (P.M.J.).
11. Cat. No. 871. Jug of brick ware with black slip; globular shape; triple handle; small neck, turning out rim; ring bottom; decorated in red, on upper half of body with wavy lines alternating with straight parallel lines. 9. c. 8 (P.M.J.).
12. Cat. No. 1027. Bottle of alabaster (gypsum), square, with rounded bottom; neck broken. 9. e. 56 (P.M.J.).
13. Cat. No. 878. Juglet of alabaster (gypsum), flat bottom; part of handle and neck are missing. 9. c. 14 (U.M.A.).
14. Cat. No. 876. Vase of alabaster (gypsum), being one of various objects in a child burial. 9. c. 12 (P.M.J.).
15. Cat. No. 877. Juglet of alabaster (gypsum), flat bottom; neck and handle missing. 9. c. 13 (P.M.J.).
16. Cat. No. 869. Handmill of stone; rounded underneath; has three straight legs, flat on outer surface. 16.b is a pestle or pounder for the same. 9. c. 6 (P.M.J.).





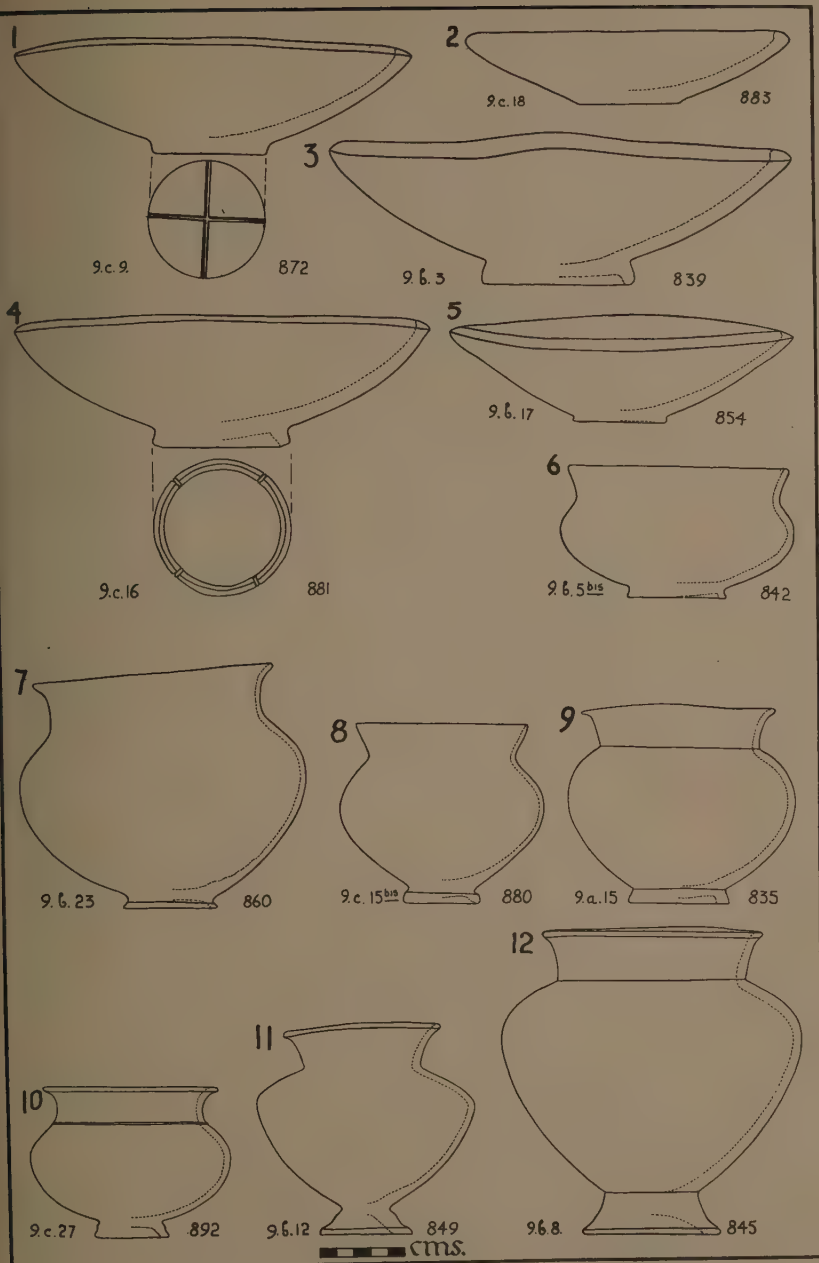
JERICHO, 1932. Tomb 9. JUGLETS AND STONE OBJECTS.

## JERICHO, 1932.

TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXI, SHOWING DISHES, BOWLS, AND GOBLETS WITH PEDESTALS, FROM LAYERS A, B, AND C (M.B.II); APPROXIMATE DATE, 16TH CENTURY B.C.

No.

1. Cat. No. 872. Dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; with in-turned rim; ring base, with a cross mark incision on base; wheel made.  
9. c. 9 (P.M.J.).
2. Cat. No. 883. Dish of light brick ware, wet-smoothed; has a thickened in-turned rim; flat bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 18 (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 839. Dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; with in-turned rim and ring bottom; wheel made. 9. b. 3 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 881. Dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; with in-turned rim and ring bottom, the ring being ornamented; wheel made.  
9. c. 16 (U.M.A.).
5. Cat. No. 854. Dish of light red ware, wet-smoothed; with in-turned rim and ring bottom; wheel made. 9. b. 17 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 842. Bowl of light brick ware, wet-smoothed; with out-turned rim and ring base; wheel made. 9. b. 5.b (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 860. Goblet of drab ware, with cream slip; ring base; wheel made. 9. b. 23 (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 880. Bowl of brown ware, burnt; with black slip; ring base.  
9. c. 15 bis (P.M.J.).
9. Cat. No. 835. Goblet of brick ware, wet-smoothed; ring bottom; wheel made. 9. a. 15 (P.M.J.).
10. Cat. No. 892. Goblet of drab ware, white slip burnished; with small pedestal base; wheel made. 9. c. 27 (U.M.A.).
11. Cat. No. 849. Goblet of drab ware with cream slip; pedestal base; wheel made; complete. 9. b. 12 (P.M.J.).
12. Cat. No. 845. Goblet of brick ware, with light slip; pedestal base; wheel made; complete. 9. b. 8 (P.M.J.).



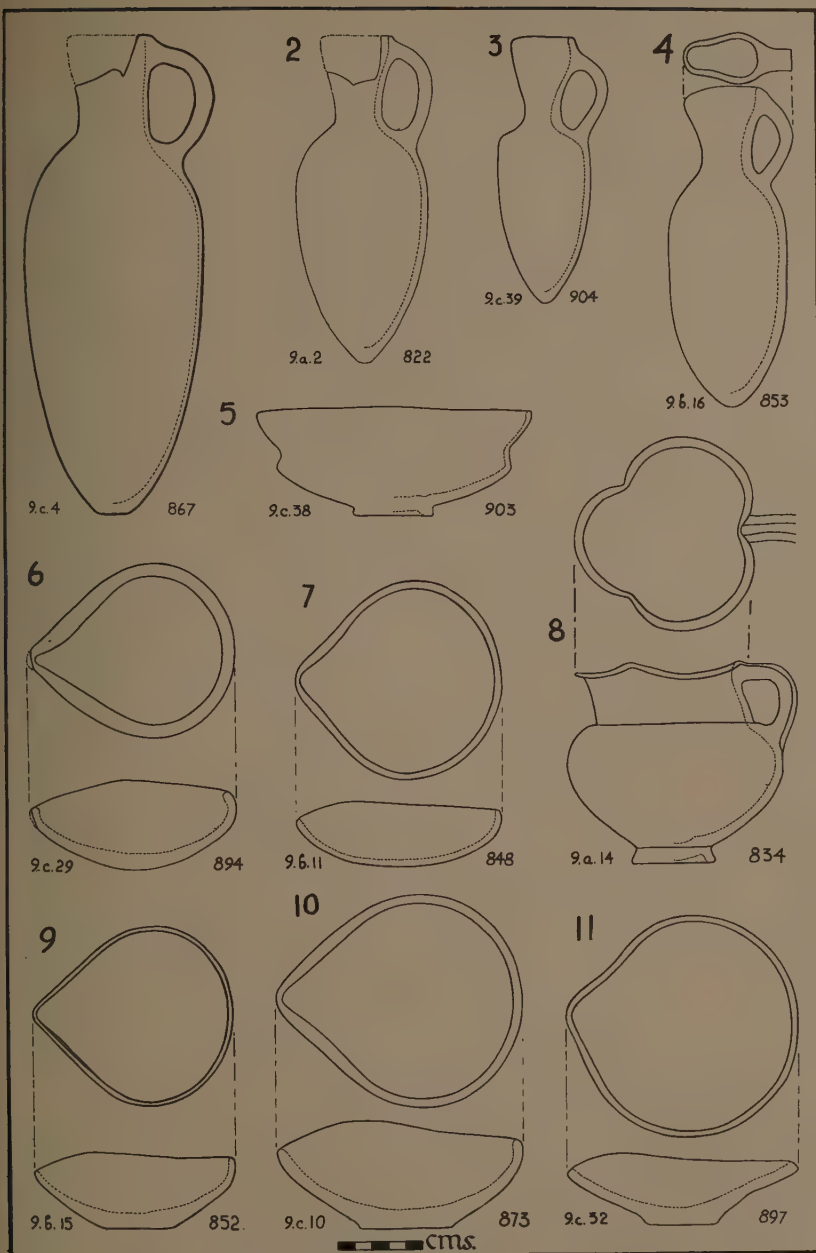
## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXII, SHOWING JUGS AND LAMPS FROM LAYERS A, B, AND C (M.B.II); APPROXIMATE DATE 16TH CENTURY B.C.

No.

1. Cat. No. 867. Jug of grey drab ware, with black slip, burnished; having one handle; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 4 (P.M.J.).
2. Cat. No. 822. Jug of yellowish drab ware, wet-smoothed; having one handle; the lip, probably pinched, is missing; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. a. 2 (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 904. Small jug of brick ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; pinched lip; wheel made. 9. c. 39 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 853. Jug of drab ware, white slip, burnished; pinched lip; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. b. 16 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 903. Dish, light brick ware, wet-smoothed; metallic form; ring bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 38 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 894. Lamp, drab ware, wet-smoothed thick pottery; rounding bottom; in-turned rim. 9. c. 29 (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 848. Lamp, brick ware, wet-smoothed; flattened bottom; wheel made. 9. b. 11 (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 834. Jug of pottery covered with yellow slip; has one triple handle ending in a curl; trefoil shaped mouth; ring base; wheel made; a perfect specimen. 9. a. 14 (P.M.J.).
9. Cat. No. 852. Lamp of brick ware, wet-smoothed; flat bottom; badly finished; wheel made. 9. b. 15 (U.M.A.).
10. Cat. No. 873. Lamp of light brick ware with grit, wet-smoothed; flat bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 10 (P.M.J.).
11. Cat. No. 897. Lamp of brick ware, wet-smoothed; flat bottom; wheel made. 9. c. 32 (P.M.J.).





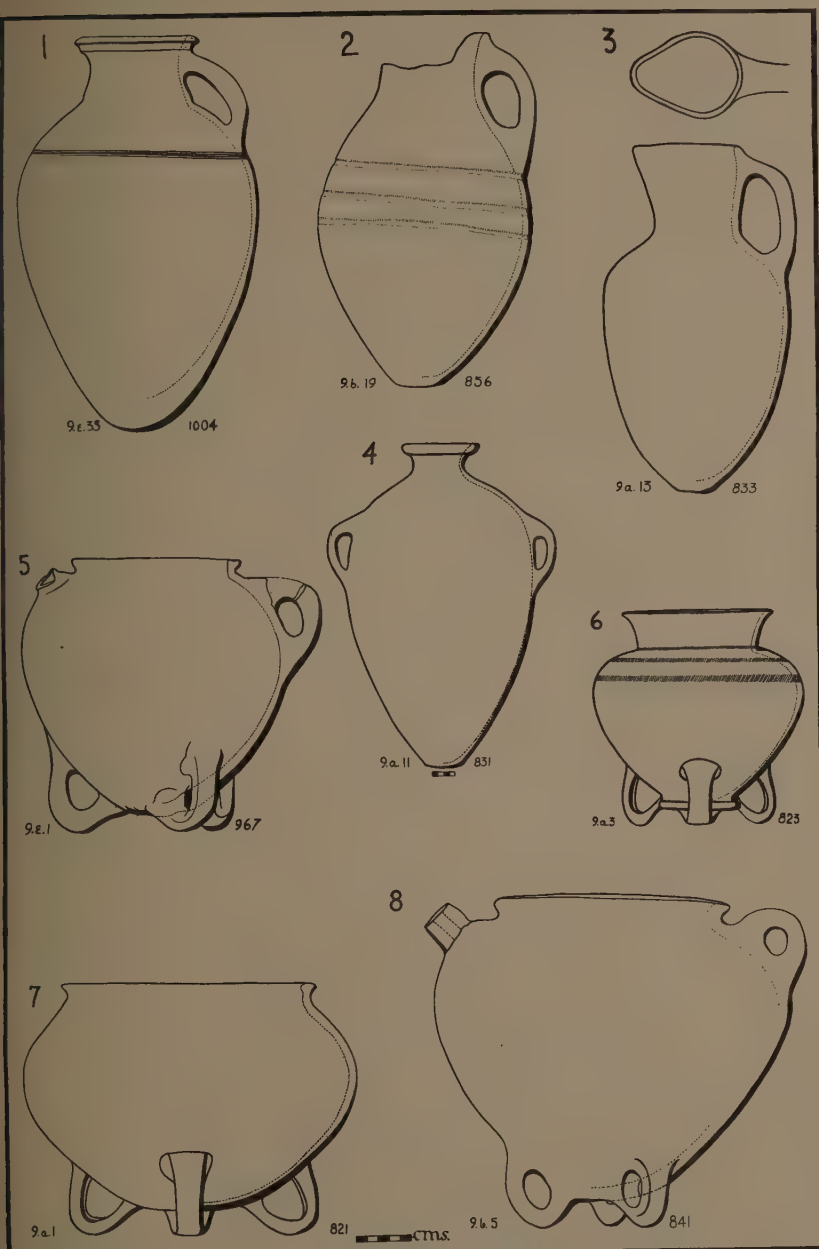
JERICO, 1932. Tomb 9. JUGS AND LAMPS FROM LAYERS A, B, AND C.

## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXIII, SHOWING JUGS AND BOWLS WITH THREE-LOOP BASES (M.B.II); APPROXI- MATE DATE, 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES B.C.

No.

1. Cat. No. 1004. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; out-turned rim; half-pointed bottom, flattened; two incised lines round shoulder just below handle; wheel made. 9. e. 35 (P.M.J.).
2. Cat. No. 856. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; pinched lip; flattened bottom; wheel made. 9. b. 19 (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 833. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; pinched lip; flattened bottom; wheel made. 9. a. 13 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 831. Large amphora of drab ware, with grits, wet-smoothed; two handles; thickened out-turned rim; wheel made. (Half-scale of other vases on this plate.) 9. a. 11 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 967. Bowl of light, drab ware, with pale creamy surface, wet-smoothed; with an out-turned rim; three-loop base; one handle and a spout; repaired from fragments. 9. e. 1 (U.M.A.).
6. Cat. No. 823. Bowl of yellowish ware, with cream slip; the shape of the Jericho Goblet; with three-loop base. It has three dull red concentric lines round upper half. 9. a. 3 (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 821. Bowl of brick ware with grit, wet-smoothed; has three-loop base; thickened out-turned rim; wheel made. 9. a. 1 (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 841. Jug of yellowish ware, wet-smoothed; one small handle and spout; three-loop base; thickened out-turned rim; wheel made. 9. b. 5 (P.M.J.).



JERICO, 1932. Tomb 9. JUGS AND BOWLS HAVING THREE-LOOP BASE. M.B.II; ABOUT 16TH AND 17TH CENTURIES B.C.

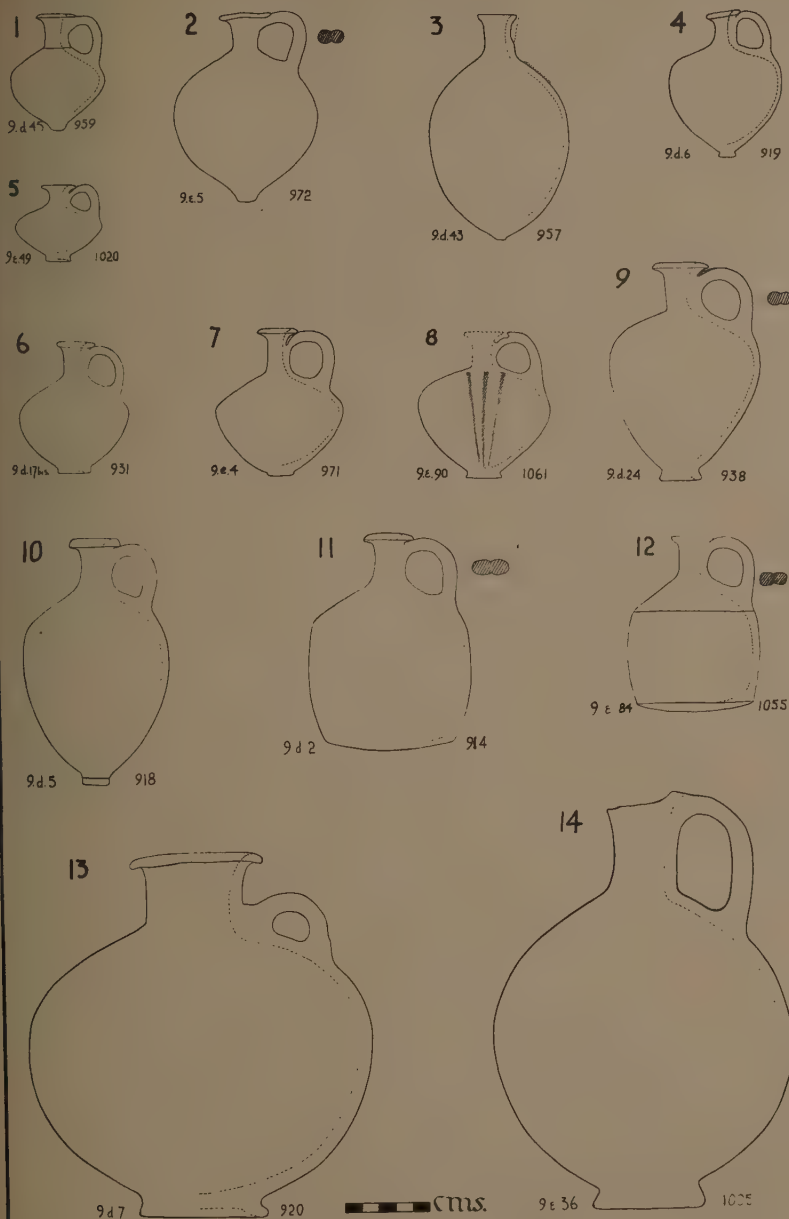
## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXIV, SHOWING JUGLETS AND GLOBULAR JUGS FROM LAYERS D AND E (M.B.II.); APPROXIMATE DATE, 17TH CENTURY B.C.

No.

1. Cat. No. 959. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; button bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 45 (U.M.A.).
2. Cat. No. 972. Juglet of black ware, with traces of black slip, burnished; button bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 5 (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 957. Juglet with brown slip, burnished; globular shape; button bottom; neck and handle broken; wheel made. 9. d. 43 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 919. Juglet of black ware with slip, burnished; button bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 6 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 1020. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; piriform; ring base. 9. e. 49 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 931. Juglet of brown ware, with dark brown slip, burnished; ring base; wheel made. 9. d. 17 bis. (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 971. Juglet of drab ware, indistinct traces of yellowish slip, burnished; button bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 4 (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 1061. Juglet of yellowish ware, wet-smoothed; small ring base; brown burnished decoration; neck missing; built up from fragments. 9. e. 90 (P.M.J.).
9. Cat. No. 938. Juglet of brick ware, with cream slip; double handle; button bottom; wheel made; broken. 9. d. 24 (P.M.J.).
10. Cat. No. 918. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; double handle; button bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 5 (P.M.J.).
11. Cat. No. 914. Juglet of drab ware, wet-smoothed; with double handle; slightly convex bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 2 (P.M.J.).
12. Cat. No. 1055. Juglet of black ware and slip, over-baked and burnished; double handle; convex bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 84 (P.M.J.).
13. Cat. No. 920. Jug of drab ware with cream slip, burnished; globular shape; double handle; out-turned rim; round mouth; ring base; wheel made. 9. d. 7 (P.M.J.).
14. Cat. No. 1005. Jug of yellow ware with red slip, burnished; globular shape; one handle; narrow neck with part of lip missing; ring base; wheel made. 9. e. 36 (P.M.J.).





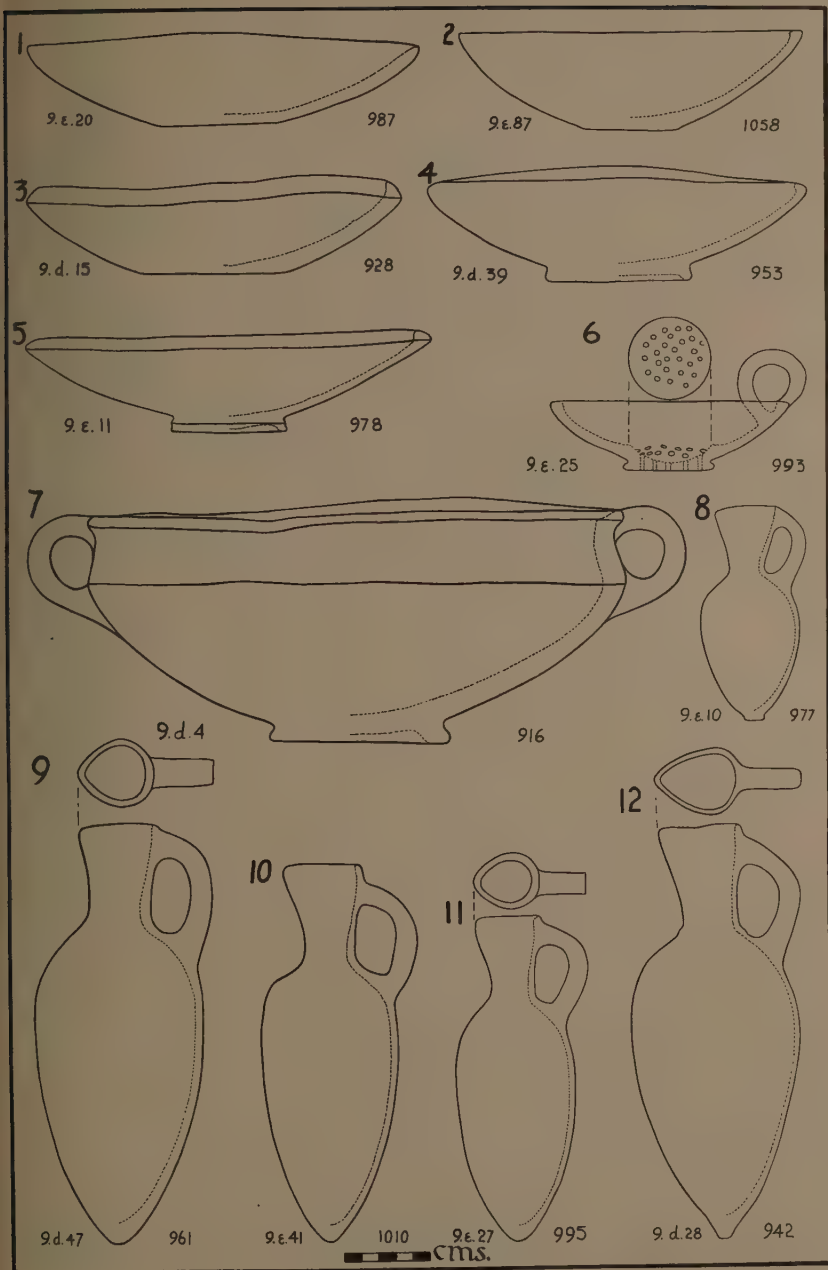
JERICO, 1932. Tomb 9. JUGLETS AND GLOBULAR JUGS FROM LAYERS D AND E.

## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXV, SHOWING DISHES AND JUGS WITH PINCHED LIPS, FROM LAYERS D AND E (M.B.II); APPROXIMATE DATE, 17TH CENTURY B.C.

No.

1. Cat. No. 987. Dish of dark drab ware, wet-smoothed; in-turned rim; flat bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 80 (P.M.J.).
2. Cat. No. 1058. Dish of drab ware, wet-smoothed; in-turned rim; flat bottom. 9. e. 87 (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 928. Dish of drab ware, wet-smoothed outside and with yellowish slip inside; in-turned rim; flat bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 15 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 953. Dish of drab ware with yellowish slip; in-turned rim; ring base; wheel made. 9. d. 39 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 978. Dish of drab ware, wet-smoothed; with in-turned rim and ring bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 11 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 993. Strainer, of brick ware, with drab slip, burnished; has in-turning handle; in-turned rim; wheel made; ring bottom pierced with 26 holes. 9. e. 25 (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 916. Large dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; has two handles and ring base; wheel made. 9. d. 4 (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 977. Jug of drab ware with cream slip; has one handle; pinched lip; button bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 10 (P.M.J.).
9. Cat. No. 961. Jug of yellowish ware, wet-smoothed; has one handle; pinched lip; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 47 (U.M.A.).
10. Cat. No. 1010. Jug of light brick ware with cream slip; has one handle; pinched lip; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 41 (P.M.J.).
11. Cat. No. 995. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; has one handle; pinched lip; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 27 (U.M.A.).
12. Cat. No. 942. Jug of brick ware with creamish slip; has one handle; pinched lip; pointed bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 28 (P.M.J.).



JERICHO, 1932. Tomb 9. DISHES AND JUGS WITH PINCHED LIPS. No. 6 is a STRAINER.

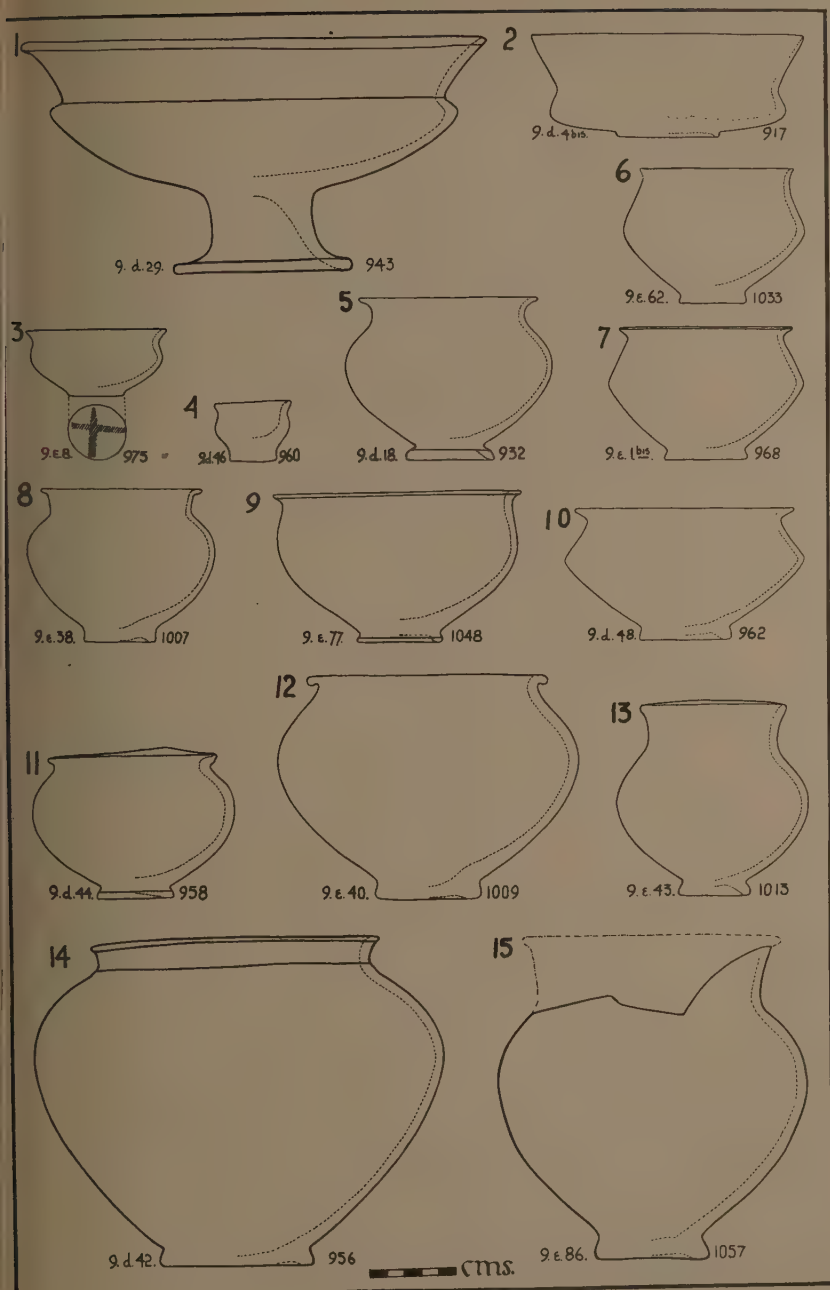
## JERICHO, 1932.

TOMB 9. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXVI, SHOWING DISH  
WITH PEDESTAL, BOWLS AND GOBLETS, FROM LAYERS D  
AND E (M.B.II); APPROXIMATE DATE, 17TH CENTURY B.C.

No.

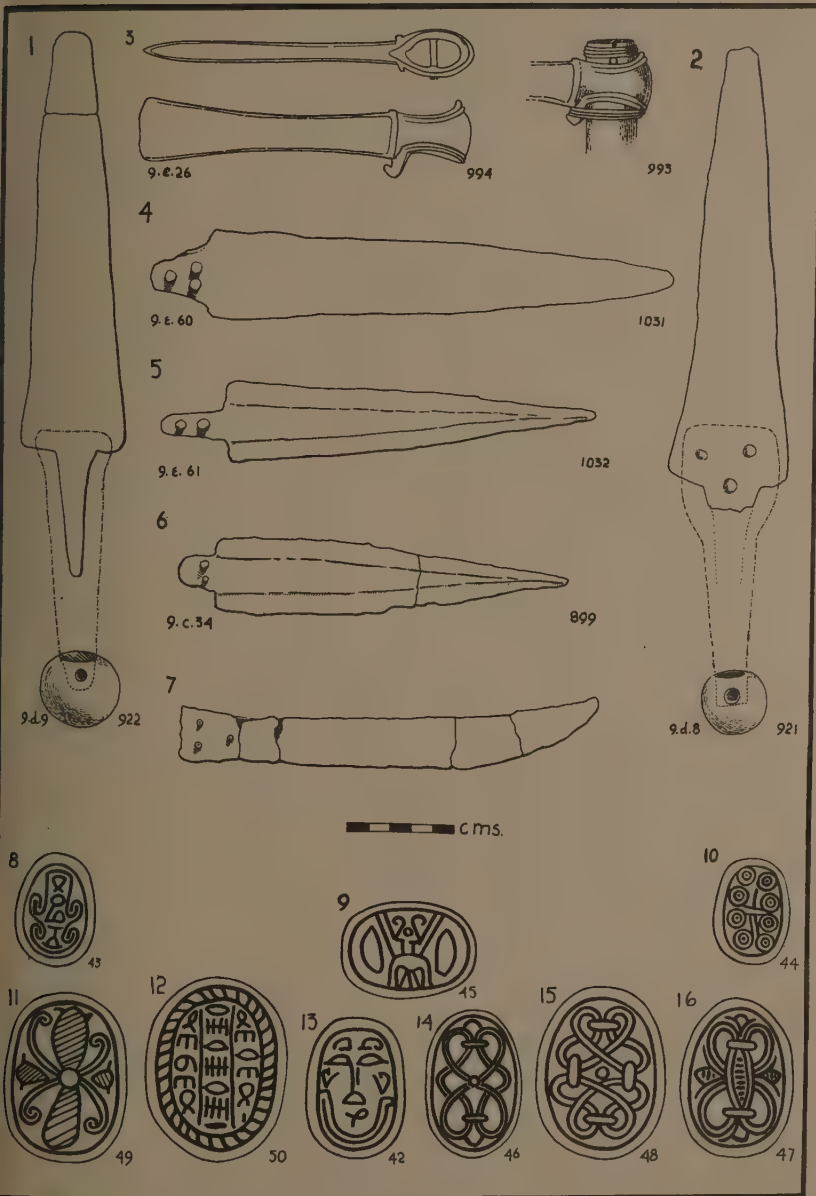
1. Cat. No. 943. Dish of light brick ware, cream slip; metallic form with pedestal; wheel made. 9. d. 29 (P.M.J.).
2. Cat. No. 917. Dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; very thin pottery; metallic form; ring bottom; wheel made; broken. 9. d. 4 bis (P.M.J.).
3. Cat. No. 975. Bowl of grey ware, black slip, burnished and burnt; out-turned rim; flat bottom bearing a rough cross pattern; wheel made. 9. e. 8 (P.M.J.).
4. Cat. No. 960. Small pot of brick ware, wet-smoothed; wheel made. 9. d. 46 (P.M.J.).
5. Cat. No. 932. Bowl of drab ware, cream slip, burnished; small pedestal base; wheel made. 9. d. 18 (P.M.J.).
6. Cat. No. 1033. Bowl of brick ware, cream slip; semi-metallic shape; out-turned rim; wheel made. 9. e. 62 (P.M.J.).
7. Cat. No. 968. Bowl of drab ware and slip, burnished; semi-metallic shape; out-turned rim; wheel made. 9. e. 1 bis (P.M.J.).
8. Cat. No. 1007. Bowl of brick ware, wet-smoothed; with out-turned rim and ring bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 38 (P.M.J.).
9. Cat. No. 1048. Bowl, wet-smoothed; out-turned rim; ring-bottom; wheel made. 9. e. 77 (P.M.J.).
10. Cat. No. 962. Bowl of light brick ware, wet-smoothed; semi-metallic shape; ring bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 48 (U.M.A.).
11. Cat. No. 958. Bowl of yellow ware and slip, burnished; out-turned rim; ring bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 44 (P.M.J.).
12. Cat. No. 1009. Bowl of drab ware, wet-smoothed, burnt; out-turned rim; ring base; wheel made. 9. e. 40 (P.M.J.).
13. Cat. No. 1013. Bowl of yellowish ware and slip; globular shape; taller neck; out-turned rim; small pedestal base; wheel made. 9. e. 43 (P.M.J.).
14. Cat. No. 956. Large bowl of brick ware, wet-smoothed; out-turned rim; ring bottom; wheel made. 9. d. 42 (P.M.J.).
15. Cat. No. 1057. Goblet of drab ware, wet-smoothed; ring base; wheel made; broken. 9. e. 86 (P.M.J.).





JERICHO, 1932. Tomb 9. DISH WITH PEDESTAL, BOWLS AND GOBLET, FROM LAYERS D AND E.  
M.B. II; ABOUT 17TH CENTURY B.C.

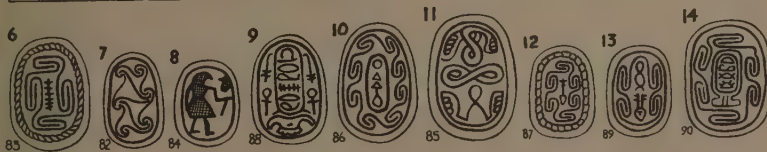
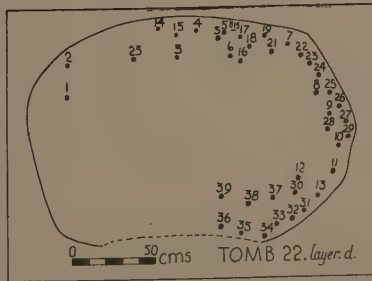
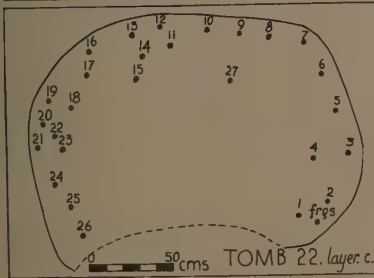
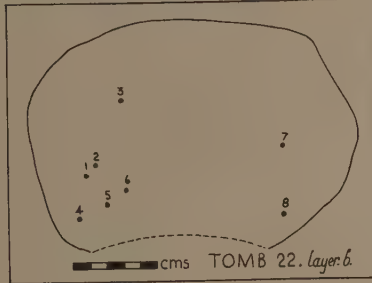
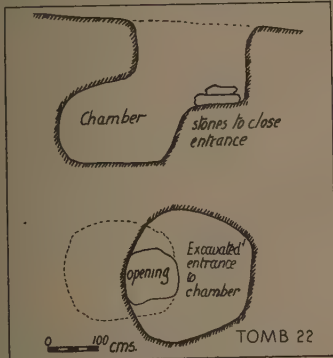
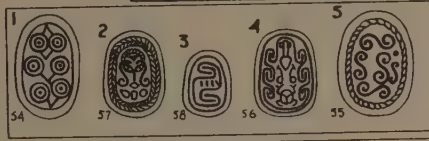
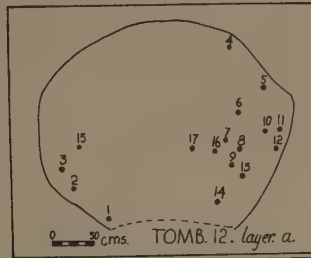
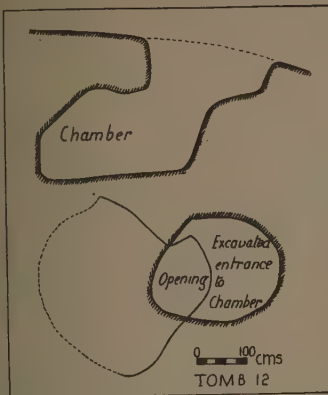




JERICO, 1932. Tomb 9. BRONZE DAGGERS, BATTLE AXE, KNIFE.  
ALSO SCARABS. SCALE C. 4/3.







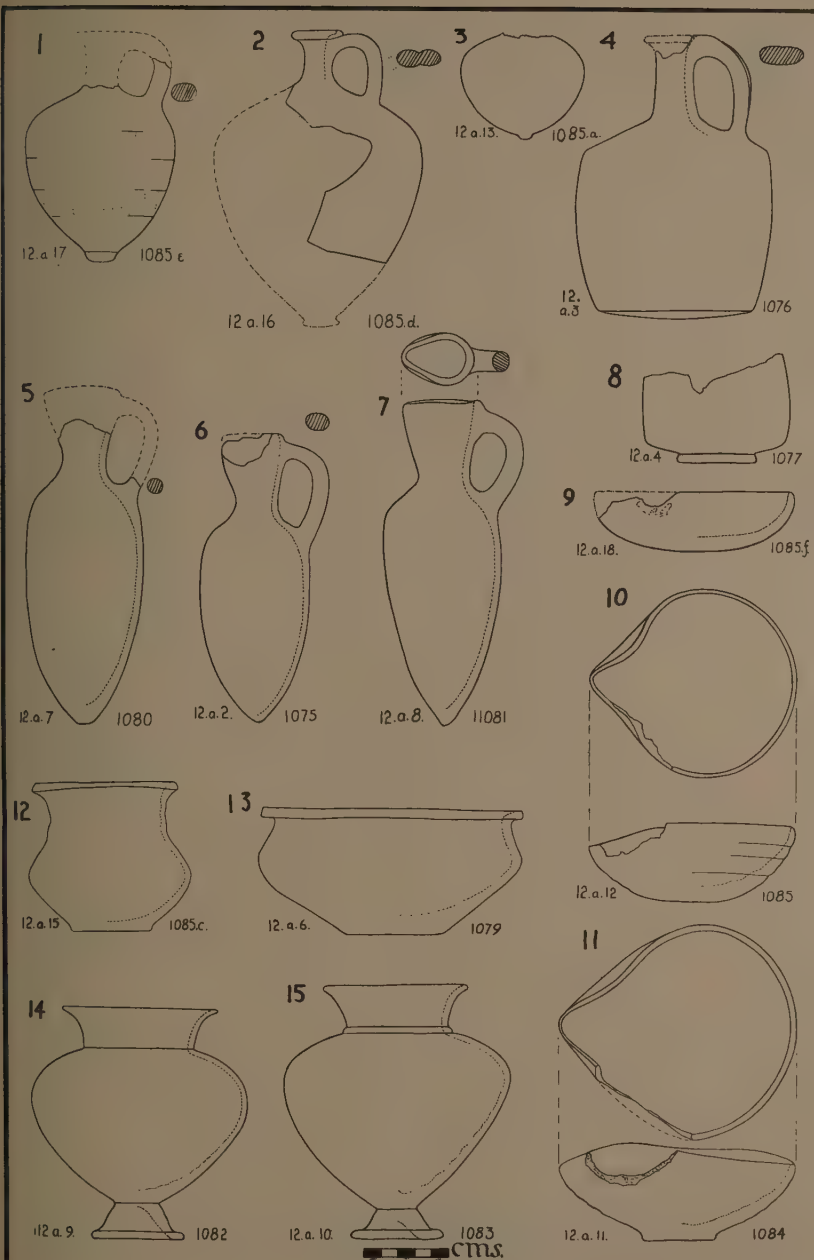
# JERICHO, 1932.

## TOMB 12. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XXXIX.

No.

1. Cat. No. 1085e. Juglet of grey ware, much worn; single handle; the neck and part of the handle are missing. 12. a. 17.
2. Cat. No. 1085d. Juglet of grey ware with grey slip, burnished; neck and handle and part of body only; double handle. 12. a. 16.
3. Cat. No. 1085a. Juglet of grey ware; pointed button bottom; neck and handle missing. 12. a. 13.
4. Cat. No. 1076. Juglet of greyish ware, with black slip; burnished; has slightly convex bottom; double handle; wheel made. 12. a. 3.
5. Cat. No. 1080. Jug of drab ware, worn; has one handle; pointed bottom; part of neck and handle are missing; wheel made. 12. a. 7.
6. Cat. No. 1075. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; has pointed bottom; one handle; pinched lip, broken; wheel made. 12. a. 2.
7. Cat. No. 1081. Jug of drab ware and slip; has one handle; pinched lip; pointed bottom; wheel made. 12. a. 8.
8. Cat. No. 1077. Base of bottle of grey ware, with brown slip, worn; flat bottom; wheel made. 12. a. 4.
9. Cat. No. 1085f. Dish used as lamp; of light red ware; rounding bottom; slightly broken, the break having been used as a wick holder. 12. a. 18.
10. Cat. No. 1085. Lamp of light brick ware, wet-smoothed; rounding bottom; wheel made. 12. a. 12.
11. Cat. No. 1084. Lamp of brick ware, with grit, wet-smoothed; rounding bottom; wheel made. 12. a. 11.
12. Cat. No. 1085c. Cup of pink clay, roughish; has flat bottom; no handle. 12. a. 15.
13. Cat. No. 1079. Bowl of drab ware, with coarse grit, wet-smoothed; semi-metallic form; flat bottom; wheel made. 12. a. 6.
14. Cat. No. 1082. Goblet of brick ware, with cream slip; has pedestal base; wheel made. 12. a. 9.
15. Cat. No. 1083. Goblet of light red ware, with cream slip; has pedestal base, and collar at base of neck; wheel made. 12. a. 10.

*All these vases are in the Leeds City Museum.*

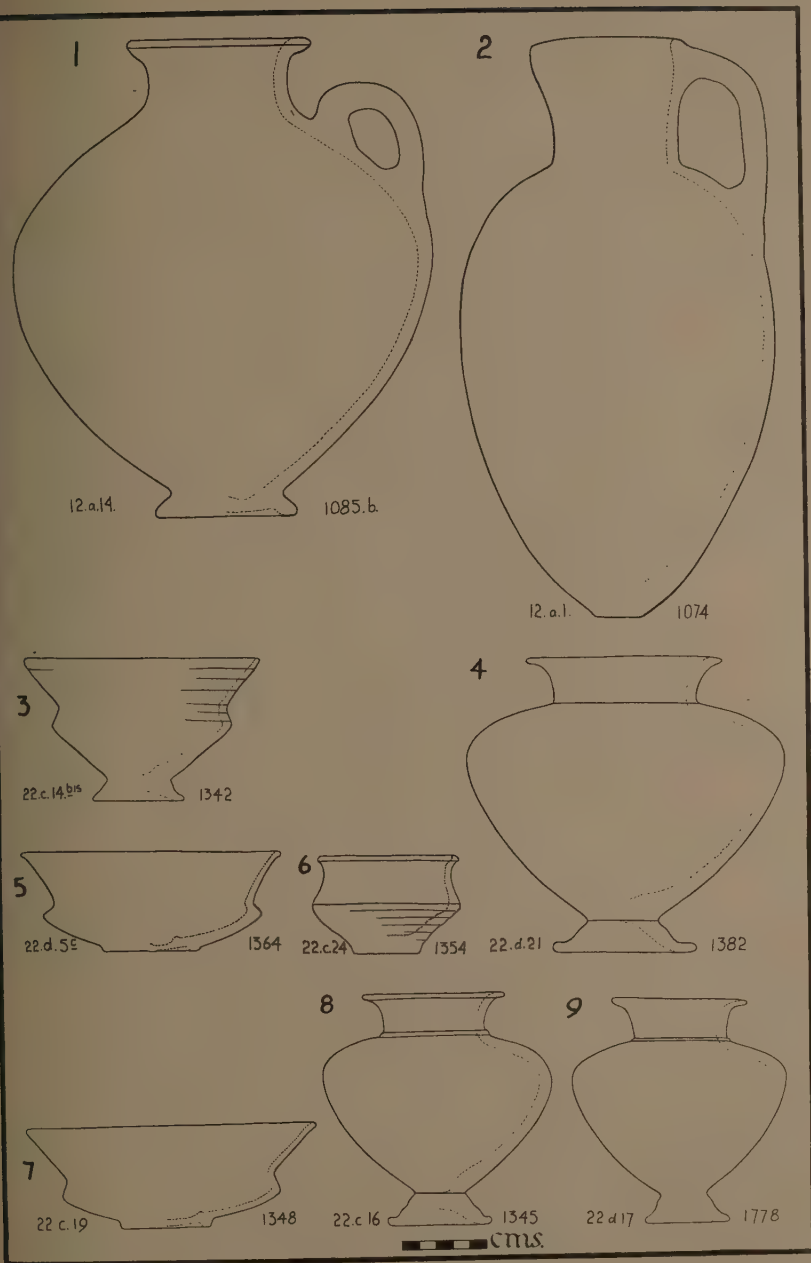


## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMBS 12 AND 22. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XL, SHOWING JUGS FROM TOMB 12, AND BOWLS AND GOBLETS WITH PEDESTALS FROM TOMB 22 (M.B.II).

No.

1. Cat. No. 1085b. Large jug of drab ware, gritty, wet-smoothed; has one loop handle; ring base; built up from fragments. 12. a. 14 (L.C.M.).
2. Cat. No. 1074. Large jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; pinched lip; small flat bottom; wheel made. 12. a. 1 (L.C.M.).
3. Cat. No. 1342. Dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; metallic form; pedestal base; wheel made. 22. c. 14 bis (U.M.A.).
4. Cat. No. 1382. Goblet of drab ware with cream slip; pedestal base; wheel made. 22. d. 21 (U.M.A.).
5. Cat. No. 1364. Dish of drab ware and slip, burnished; metallic form; ring base; wheel made. 22. d. 5.c (U.M.A.).
6. Cat. No. 1354. Bowl of drab ware, with grit; wet-smoothed; semi-metallic form; flat bottom; wheel made. 22. c. 24 (U.M.A.).
7. Cat. No. 1348. Dish of light brick ware and slip, burnished; metallic form; ring base; wheel made. 22. c. 19 (U.M.A.).
8. Cat. No. 1345. Goblet of light brick ware with cream slip; collar round neck; pedestal base; wheel made. 22. c. 16 (U.M.A.).
9. Cat. No. 1378. Goblet of grey ware; with collar round neck; pedestal base; wheel made. 22. d. 17 (U.M.A.).



JERICHO, 1932. TOMBS 12 AND 22. LARGE JUGS FROM TOMB 12: DISHES AND GOBLETS FROM TOMB 22.

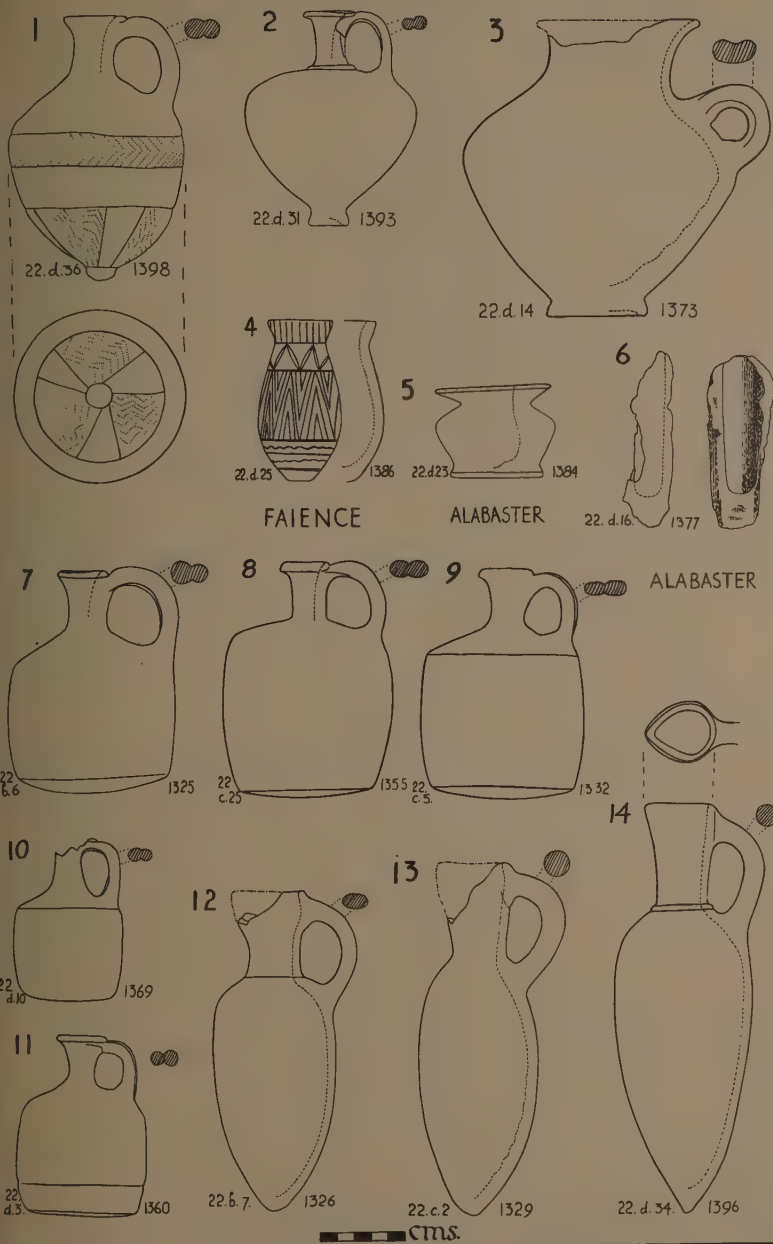


# JERICHO, 1932.

## TOMB 22. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLI, SHOWING JUGLETS AND STONE OBJECTS.

No.

1. Cat. No. 1398. Juglet of black ware, traces of slip, burnished; double handle; button bottom; wheel made; punctuated pattern on lower half. 22. d. 36 (U.M.A.).
2. Cat. No. 1393. Juglet of brick ware, traces of drab slip; double handle; small splaying base; collar round neck; wheel made; broken. 22. d. 31 (U.M.A.).
3. Cat. No. 1373. Jug of yellow-red ware with grit, wet-smoothed; has one handle; out-turned rim; mouth broken; ring base; wheel made. 22. d. 14 (U.M.A.).
4. Cat. No. 1386. Vase of faience; Egyptian; flattened bottom; decorated all over; broken. 22. d. 25 (U.M.A.).
5. Cat. No. 1384. Kohl pot of alabaster; flat circular rim. 22. d. 23 (U.M.A.).
6. Cat. No. 1376. Fragment of tall narrow alabaster vase. 22. d. 16 (U.M.A.).
7. Cat. No. 1325. Juglet of yellow-red ware with traces of red slip, burnished; double handle; convex bottom. 22. b. 6 (U.M.A.).
8. Cat. No. 1355. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; double handle; slightly convex bottom; wheel made. 22. c. 25 (U.M.A.).
9. Cat. No. 1332. Juglet of black ware, with traces of black slip, burnished; double handle; convex bottom; wheel made. 22. c. 5. (U.M.A.).
10. Cat. No. 1369. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; double handle with button; slightly convex bottom; wheel made. 22. d. 10 (U.M.A.).
11. Cat. No. 1360. Juglet of black ware and slip, burnished; with double handle; slightly convex bottom; wheel made. 22. d. 3 (U.M.A.).
12. Cat. No. 1326. Jug of light brick ware with cream slip; one handle; lip broken, probably pinched; pointed bottom. 22. b. 7 (U.M.A.).
13. Cat. No. 1329. Jug of drab ware, wet-smoothed; one handle; lip broken, probably pinched; pointed bottom; wheel made. 22. c. 2 (U.M.A.).
14. Cat. No. 1396. Jug of drab ware with cream slip, burnished; one handle; pinched lip; pointed bottom; collar round neck; wheel made; perfect specimen. 22. d. 34 (U.M.A.).



JERICOHO, 1932. TOMB 22. JUGLETS, JUGS, AND STONE OBJECTS. No. 4 is of FAIENCE.

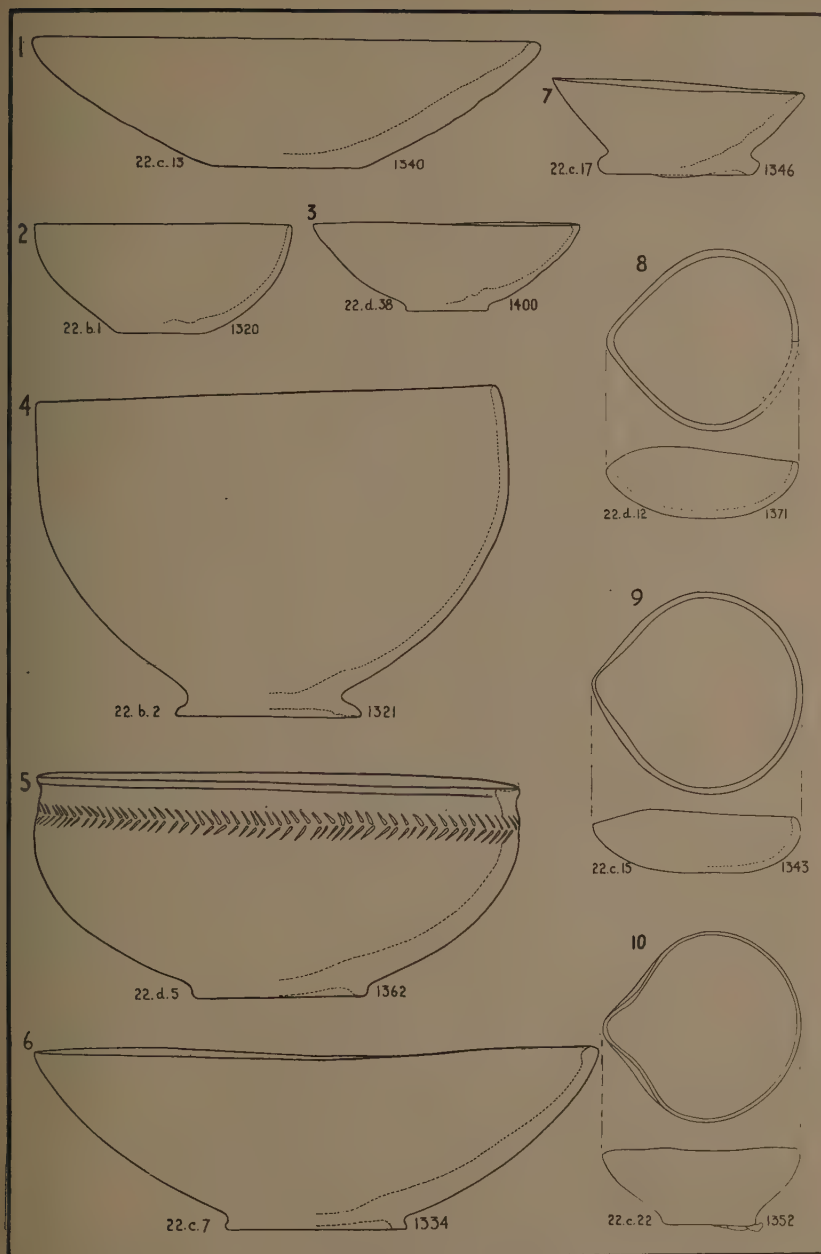
## JERICHO, 1932.

### TOMB 22. DESCRIPTION OF PLATE XLI BIS, SHOWING DISHES, BOWLS AND LAMPS (M.B.I.).

No.

1. Cat. No. 1340. Dish of drab porridge ware, with traces of brown slip, burnished; flat bottom; wheel made. 22. c. 13.
2. Cat. No. 1320. Bowl of brick ware with coarse grit, originally wet-smoothed; flat bottom; wheel made. 22. b. 1.
3. Cat. No. 1400. Dish of brick ware, wet-smoothed; part of rim missing; wheel made. 22. d. 38.
4. Cat. No. 1321. Bowl of brick ware with coarse grit, wet-smoothed, now rough; ring base; wheel made. 22. b. 2.
5. Cat. No. 1362. Bowl of brick ware, wet-smoothed; has thickened rim and punctuated herringbone pattern round rim. 22. d. 5.
6. Cat. No. 1334. Dish of brick ware with grit, wet-smoothed; inturned rim; ring base. 22. c. 7.
7. Cat. No. 1346. Bottom of pottery vessel of drab-brick ware, with coarse grit, wet-smoothed; has pseudo-ring-base; wheel made. 22. c. 17.
8. Cat. No. 1371. Lamp of drab ware with grit, wet-smoothed; rounding bottom; wheel made. 22. d. 12.
9. Cat. No. 1343. Lamp of light brick ware, wet-smoothed; flattened bottom; almost circular; wheel made. 22. c. 15.
10. Cat. No. 1352. Lamp of light brick ware with grit, wet-smoothed; flat bottom; badly finished; wheel made. 22. c. 22.

*All these Vases are in the University Museum, Aberystwyth*









JERICHO, 1932.

TOMB 9. POTTERY VASES ARRANGED IN LAYERS AS FOUND.  
(M.B. II; DATE ABOUT 1700-1600 B.C.)

Scale c. 1:10.



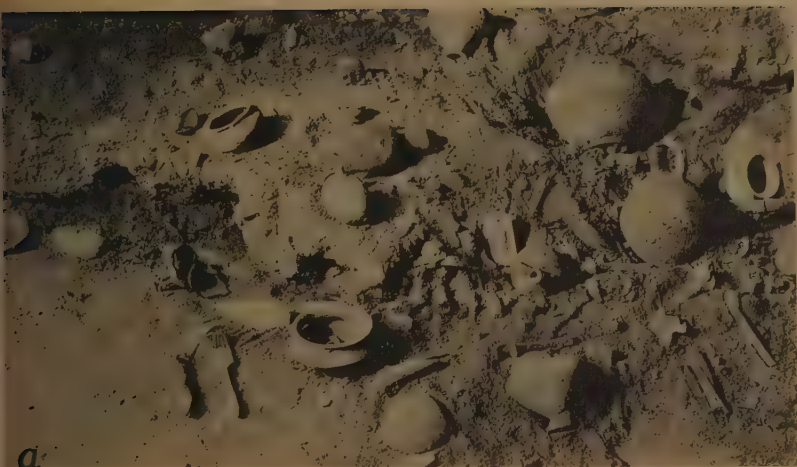


JERICHO, 1932.

TOMB 9. TWO VIEWS OF THE RHYTON (E. 75).

Scale c. 5:8.





JERICHO, 1932.

TOMB 9. a. INTERIOR OF GROTTO AT THE BEGINNING OF EXCAVATION.

b. GROUP OF FOUR SELECTED VASES: C. 8; A. 14; E. 25; A. 3.

Scale c. 1:5.





# THE BRITISH MUSEUM EXCAVATIONS ON THE TEMPLE OF ISHTAR AT NINEVEH, 1930-31

By R. CAMPBELL THOMPSON, M.A., D.LITT., F.S.A., AND  
R. W. HAMILTON, B.A., F.S.A.

WITH PLATES XLVI-XCII

IN the season of 1930-31 work was resumed on the mound of Kouyunjik.<sup>1</sup>  
It will be remembered that during the previous season<sup>2</sup> we had uncovered

1. It is to the generosity of Sir Charles Hyde, Bart., that the financing of the whole season is due; but beyond the merely monetary side the expeditionary staff owes him a deep debt of gratitude for that personal encouragement which counts for so much. This season the expedition consisted of myself and my wife, and her friend Miss M. Hallett, and my colleague and assistant, Mr. R. W. Hamilton. As before, the general oversight, the cuneiform, the plans, and part of the drawings fell to my share; Mr. Hamilton was in charge of the pottery and whatever classical inscriptions might be found, and he shared also equally in the drawings, the pottery being particularly his work. To Major W. C. F. Wilson, Administrative Inspector at Mosul, and his wife we all owe our gratitude for endless kindnesses: indeed, there were so many English residents in Mosul who did everything they could to make our sojourn a delight, that it would be impossible to mention them all by name. It is with great sorrow that we have to record the death of Abdullah Beg es-Sana, lately the Governor of Mosul, who was murdered only a short time ago, and it is with a great sense of personal loss that the expedition offers its small tribute to the memory of his debonair personality and energetic character, which endeared him to all of us. Our two former Arab overseers, Yakub and Abd-el-Ahad, were again with us, and my old henchman Mejid Shaiya, now Cawass at the Ottoman Bank, helped us most loyally as always. It should be mentioned that the clearance of the Temple was not completed until the following season, when Mr. M. E. L. Mallowan was with me in place of Mr. Hamilton, who had by this time been appointed Inspector of Antiquities in Palestine. Thanks to the agreeable assent of both these colleagues, the finds of the two seasons have been and will be interchanged for publication, so far as is proper for their convenient allocation: those of the Temple of Ishtar from the finds of 1931-32 have been included herein, while the publication of various prehistoric objects has been assigned to Mr. Mallowan's share in our forthcoming joint article on the last season. It will be seen herein that certain periods of the prehistoric results have been attributed to a 'Nineveh V' or 'Nineveh IV' prehistoric period, a form of nomenclature due to Mr. Mallowan, who has now divided the prehistoric periods of Nineveh into five. In the following pages the walls of buildings are marked with a figure (- or +) giving the position of their bases relatively below or above our datum-level (the same as in 1929-30, in the W. corner of Sect. A, 11' 6" above the top of Sargon's well in the Temple of Nabû, and corresponding with the level of the base of the feet on the Ashur-našir-pal sculpture), and unless it is otherwise stated, the reference is always to this datum-level. Similarly the provenance and depth of objects found are marked by sectional letters and the position in feet below (or, if marked with +, above) the datum-level, our superficies being, as before, marked out in 50' squares. A (B) after an object indicates that it was allotted to the Baghdad Museum in the division. Abbreviations herein are: *A.A.A.*=*Liverpool Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology*, XVIII; *Abp.*=Ashur-bani-pal, usually referring to stone inscriptions (dedicated to Nabû or Ninlil), by which evidence for post-Assyrian dating may be gleaned; *Anp.*=Ashur-našir-pal; *Arch.*=*Archaeologia*, LXXIX, 103, ff.; *C.E.N.*=*A Century of Exploration in Nineveh*; *Ch.*=Chamber; *J.R.A.S.*=*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*; *tbn*=unburnt brick.

2. See *A.A.A.*, 79.

the side of a platform of *libn* (unburnt brick) near the top of the mound, and our hopes ran high that this was the first trace of the famous Temple of Ishtar, which had been so long sought in excavations on this mound. In the present season we cleared about two-thirds of this platform.

Now Sennacherib twice describes the plotting of his rebuilding of the great south-western palace in relation to the position of the Temple of Ishtar :—

- (a) 'The former palace which (measured) 360 cubits on the side towards the *zamê* (enclosure) of the Temple-tower, 80 cubits wide on the side towards the *bît-namari* of the Temple of Ishtar, 134 cubits wide on the side toward the *bît-namari* of the Temple of Kitmuri, 95 cubits wide (on the fourth side)' (Bellino Cylinder, 44).
- (b) '700 great cubits on the side, 176 great cubits on its upper north front, 268 great cubits on its inner front opposite the *zamê* (enclosure) of the building at the back of Ishtar (*sic*); 383 great cubits on the second inner front, facing the west, at the back of the Temple-tower of the Temple of Ishtar' (Rassam Cylinder, 77 ff.).

These two passages have long been regarded as the clue to the position of this great building, which my late colleague L. W. King sought with so much energy, in the hope that it possessed a library.

#### a. Proof that the *libn* foundation is that of the Temple of Ishtar

That this solid *libn* foundation, discovered in 1930, some six feet thick, and extending over an area of roughly 300' × 150', was the Temple of Ishtar, is definitely proved (a) by Ashur-naṣir-pal's inscribed bricks in place in a pavement (Sects. R-S, and see p. 115); and (b) by the base of a fine sculpture of the same king *in situ* (Pl. XLIX, 3), on the back of which was a long inscription (the 'Standard Inscription' of Ashur-naṣir-pal at Nineveh, P (1), No. 272), also recording his repairs in the Temple. In addition to these remains which were actually *in situ*, there were many other Temple inscriptions which, although not in their original places, were found in the neighbourhood: the big triplicate historical inscription of Ashur-bani-pal (to be published subsequently): marble slabs of Ashur-naṣir-pal (see P, note, Nos. 1-9 and Nos. (2)-(7)): bricks of various kings (T, p. 114): pieces of stone cylinders of Shamshi-Adad I (K 1, No. 260, p. 105, Pl. LI, 2): clay 'hands' (*A.A.A.*, 99): and particu-

larly the very numerous fragments of *zigâti*, etc. (A, Nos. 170 ff., p. 93), which must be assigned to the Temple whenever they preserve records of repairs made to it.

This foundation of clay had been greatly damaged by the depredations of later occupants of the mound, who found in it a plentiful supply of well-puddled clay, and their depredations and the action of weather had removed the greater part of the *libn* walling which had once formed chambers of the Temple-building on its surface, just as we had found in the Temple of Nabû. It is unfortunate, therefore, that although we have a good idea of the extent of the Temple, with one good paved courtyard at all events, there are only a few traces of walls left.

The actual siting of the Temple on the mound, in its relation to other buildings, can be calculated from the E. corner of the excavations, which was 317' distant from the centre of the Mohammedan tomb which lay at 12° 30' E. of N. from it. Its N.W. side is approximately parallel to the S.E. side of the Temple of Nabû at about 120 feet distance.

#### b. The recorded history of the Temple

It may be accepted that the inscriptions hitherto published, and the numerous new texts found, are enough to give us the complete sequence of those kings who repaired the Temple.

(After the Prehistoric Period, ending with Ninevite V (Mallowan),  
c. 3000 B.C., and some Sumerian connection) :—

1. The first known builder, Manishtushu, son of Sargon, c. 2450 B.C.  
(from Shamshi-Adad I's cylinder, p. 106).

2. The second, Shamshi-Adad I, c. 1840 B.C. (his own cylinder, p. 105,  
and ref. Shalmaneser I, p. 95, and Ashur-naṣir-pal, p. 111).

(Kassite period for nearly 500 years.)

3. Ashur-uballit (c. 1386 B.C.) (ref. Shalmaneser I, p. 95, and Ashur-naṣir-pal, p. 102. No records of his own known).

(Earthquake.)

4. Shalmaneser I, c. 1280 B.C. (his own *zigâti*, p. 93) : his son Tukulti-Ninurta, c. 1250 B.C. (his own bricks, p. 114).

(Earthquake in the time of Ashur-dân, c. 1150 B.C.)

5. Ashur-rîsh-ishi, c. 1120 B.C. (his own *zigâti* and bricks (?), pp. 95, 114). Ashur-bêl-kala, the son of Tiglath-Pileser I, apparently devoted a statue of the goddess to the Temple.

6. Shamshi-Adad IV, c. 1000 B.C. (his own *zigâti*, p. 98).

7. Ashur-naṣir-pal, c. 883-859 B.C. (his own numerous inscriptions).
8. Ashur-bani-pal, c. 668-626 B.C. (his own dedicatory slabs, and a large historical inscription : see p. 71).

**c. The actual remains of the Temple as excavated**

1. The earliest, in a complex of early buildings (including the large rectangular building on -20') in Sect. W, shewing two periods ; and another building, probably to be included here, near the S.W. corner in Sects. WW (see Pls. XLVII, 1, 2, and XLVI, 1).
2. The next construction after this would appear to be the central part of the main foundation of unburnt brick in DD. This, although it appears to be of the same kind of construction as the main foundation in 3 below, is based on -13', some 7' below the level of the main foundation, which is approximately on -5' to -6' (see Pl. XLVI, 2).
3. The main foundation extending over an area of some 300' × 150', averaging 6' thick, with from 18 to 20 courses of unburnt brick (1' 1" to 1' 2" square and 4" to 4½" thick). It may be of the same date as 2 above. It contains seven curious built 'cellars,' obviously built at the same time as the foundation (see Pls. XLVI, 4, and L, 3).
4. A large pavement of burnt brick (No. III, see Pl. XLVII, 3, 4) with a drain. Its relative age (with regard to 3 above) is proved by the drain to be later than 3, this running across the top of 'cellar' 5, but there are no inscriptions on the bricks to determine its exact period.

With this pavement are to be included the very small traces above it of Pavements II and I.

5. Presumably later come Ashur-naṣir-pal's pavements on the *libn*, and his sculpture, which had been let into the *libn* between Sects. I, O, T, and S (Pls. XLVIII, 1, and L, 4 ; XLIX, 3).
6. Directly above Pavements Nos. III, II, and I, in the courtyard, were two *libn* pavements which represent the remains of the latest Assyrian restoration of the Temple (Pl. XLVI, 3).

**d. The assignment of the various buildings to their respective kings**

- (1) *The buildings described in c. 1 : the pre-Kassite period.*

The remains marked c. 1 may with reason be ascribed in part to



Shamshi-Adad I, and in part to Manishtushu. We can here discuss the details of this supposition.

The Temple is now known for the first time, from these inscriptions, to have existed as far back as the time of Manishtushu, king of Agade, c. 2450 B.C., the reference being made on stone inscriptions of Shamshi-Adad I, c. 1840 B.C., of which we found several copies (pieces of cylinders, and of one four-sided stone, K, 1, p. 105) written in archaic cuneiform. Of these latter, one, a cylinder in two pieces and almost complete, was found in W, 8 and R+1. The inscription relates that the E-Me-nu-e 'in the precincts of E-Mashmash' (a name for the Temple of Ishtar, which lasted down to the last kings of Assyria) was founded by 'Manishtushu, the son of Sharrukin, king of Agade.' This is the earliest local record—indeed, the earliest record—of a southern king at Nineveh. Already Sargon, the father of Manishtushu, is known to have conquered Subartu (*i.e.* the land north of Babylonia: see S. Smith, *Early Hist. of Assyr.*, 93), and after the glory of their kingdom had departed (or, as Shamshi-Adad says on his cylinder, 'after the End of Agade,' an important phrase indicating the recognition of the end of an epoch), the kings of Ur held suzerainty over these same domains (*ib.*, 130), one (Pur-Sin) being mentioned by name on the inscription of Zariku at Ashur (c. 2200 B.C.). At this period, too, we have to associate with Assyria the Semitic colony in Anatolia, near Kaisarieh, and presently the rise of Assyria. Mr. Smith pertinently remarks (*ib.*, 182): 'there is, unfortunately, no information to be obtained from the inscriptions at present as to the extent of the land of Assyria itself at this period. Did Nineveh, for instance, count by this time as an integral part of that land?' This last question can now be answered in some measure by our excavations, first, from the quotation given above from Shamshi-Adad's inscription, and, secondly (but in a far less certain fashion), by the little Sumerian figure, the double-headed animal beads, and the unusual (Sumerian?) seal impression (see *A.A.A.*, Pl. XXV, 12, 13-26, and Pl. XXII, 10).<sup>1</sup> There can be no doubt that if Manishtushu repaired the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, he must have conquered the city. On the other hand, it must be remembered that no early native Sumerian inscriptions have been found at Nineveh, and consequently

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1. Earlier still would appear to be the seal impression with the curious beak-like noses of the present article, Pl. lxiii, 6, with which cf. the cylinder-seal of A-bar-gi (Gadd, *Hist. and Mon. of Ur*, Pl. x).

the probability is that the presence of the Sumerian figure, the seals, and the beads, is the result merely of mercantile connection; and we may reasonably accept the view that it is not until the time of Sargon, who, as is well known, conquered Subartu, that Assyria was really dominated by the South. That it remained in southern hands long after this period is shewn by Hammurabi's mention of the 'Temple of E-Mish-mish' in his Code in the twentieth century.

With the decline of the Dynasty of Babylon comes the rise of Assyria, and out of the fog emerges the great king Shamshi-Adad I, already known to have extended his conquests over the Persian frontier on the East, and probably to the Lebanon on the West. In his cylinder, in his phrase 'the Capture of Nurrugi<sup>ki</sup>' (hitherto unknown) when he came to the kingdom, we may well see another epoch begun. Where Nurrugi<sup>ki</sup> is unknown, but Shamshi-Adad evidently regards its conquest as a triumph, and we should perhaps reckon the date as marking the real foundation of the Assyrian Empire. Not only does he himself state that he repaired the Temple, but Shalmaneser I, nearly 600 years later, also mentions this fact (p. 95).<sup>1</sup>

Since we have, therefore, the names of two kings, Manishtushu (c. 2450 B.C.) and Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1840 B.C.), as the only two early kings known to have carried out work on the Temple before the long, jejune Kassite period, we shall not be wrong in assigning to them the earliest buildings of the Temple found in our excavations (*i.e.* c. 1). But part of this complex of buildings—which are entirely distinct both in angle and construction from the main upper (later) foundations—can be divided into two, an earlier and a later, the latter being a restoration of the first.

The following are the details of the two buildings:—

(1) The earlier, a chamber between the Sects. QR, to N.W. of (2) (the larger building between Sects. WX), built of *libn* on  $-20'$ , darker in colour than (2), and at a different angle ( $217\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  against  $225\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ - $228^\circ$ ), the walls being much narrower (approximately  $2' 0''$  against  $4' 6''$  wide). The end of one of the walls ('NE  $127\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ') abuts on the outside of the N.W. wall of (2), being apparently joined to it by mud walling, but of

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1. His use of the word *dāru* is interesting. He reckons the period from 'the end of Agade' to his own reign as seven *dāru*, or 'generations,' the דָּר of the O.T. Sidney Smith (*ib.* 76) dates the end of Agade at c. 2332 B.C., and the accession of Shamshi-Adad as c. 1840, *i.e.* 492 years, so that the *dāru* represents the O.T. 'threescore years and ten' (Ps. xc, 10).

this it was difficult to be certain. At 20'-21' was a flooring of some kind of cement,  $1\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, much decayed, which ran under 'NE  $127\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ' to the N.

(2) The later, in Sects. WX, a rectangular building of *libn* walls some 4' 6" thick, of good reddish clay on a base of one course of massive pieces of limestone on -20', covering an inner area of about  $78' \times 25'$ . The height of the walls varied, the S.E. end having been badly destroyed in the Romano-Parthian period, which left its traces on this side, while on the N.W. they were well preserved, being from 10' to 11' high. There was an undoubted arching inwards of the N.E. wall, shewing traces of smoke, and the height to the springing was about 10'. On a base -15' 6" was a thick additional facing wall along part of the inner side of the N.E. wall (which could hardly be said to be of *libn* bricks, but rather of red *libn* clay) on a base of large stones.

What was noticeable in the difference between the two buildings was that the stone base of the walls of the later building (2) was laid on a stratum of black ash 1' 0" thick (there being under the -15' 6" clay facing to the N.E. wall three layers of burning): and it was equally noticeable that the walls of the earlier (1) had originally been faced with a smearing of clay which had been burnt to a thin veneer of the consistency of brick, which could hardly have been produced by anything less than a catastrophic conflagration. The walls of (2) shewed no such burnt facing. Consequently we may assume that the older building (1) was burnt, and that (2) was built on its ashes. It is true that the stone base of the outside (NW) of the N.W. wall of (2) appears to run under the end of the 'NE  $127\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ ' wall of (1), but, as we have said, the point of contact between the two walls is difficult.

[Here should be discussed the early chamber in the Sect. WW, found in 1932, built at an angle of  $225\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ —corresponding with the S.W. wall of the large building (2)—of reddish *libn* (bricks  $1' 3'' \times 1' 3'' \times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ ), with walls still 7' 6" to 8' 0" high, on a base of stones roughly shaped and in rough pieces, on -16', 14' below the local level of the top of the great foundation of the Temple. Like the earlier building (1) the faces were plastered with a coating of mud (2" thick in this case). The floor was approximately on -11' (?), and beneath this was a curved drain running approximately across the chamber, built of red burnt bricks ( $1' 0\frac{1}{2}'' \times (?) \times 3\frac{1}{4}''$ , with a black centre, an unusual appearance) and covered with flat pieces of limestone. In this chamber we found pieces

of a painted pot and two of the little standless pots, with pierced lugs (of the type Pl. LVIII, 19) of the latest (Vth) prehistoric period, and at least two fragments of early cuneiform clay tablets. For a photograph, see Pl. XLVI, 1.]

For the evidence for dating the later building (2) we may adduce the following, but it must be remembered that although the N.W. end is in good condition, the S.E. end has been destroyed in much later times, and in consequence the *strata* may have been disturbed :—

(a) About 19' 6"—20' were a good many of the upturned roughly-made bowls (of the period (IVth) earlier than the painted pottery of the latest, Vth, prehistoric) and one piece of this painted pottery. In Sect. X were five similar bowls at —15' and —16' under ash, which, as it was close to the outside of the complex of the two buildings (1) and (2), probably belongs to the conflagration of (1), in which case (as would naturally be presumed) the buildings are certainly later than these bowls. The quantity of flint flakes at —19' and —20' was greater than usual, but there were only a very few poor obsidian chips. At —22', midway between the two walls N.W.-S.E., was a bronze or copper needle; no bone implements: at —23' a long thin piece of bronze or copper. So much for the early objects, which would seem to be much earlier than the buildings. There is, on the other hand, no little negative evidence that these buildings were before the time of Shalmaneser I (c. 1280), since none of his bricks, which are fairly common in the Temple precincts, were found near here; and if we may presume that the buildings were before 1280, it is reasonable to consider that they were certainly as old as 1800, since there appears to have been little occupation of the mound in the intervening Kassite period. As Mr. Mallowan, in his latest discussion on the prehistoric pottery, assigns the last two periods (painted pottery and upturned bowls), V and IV, to about the fourth millennium, we may accept a date *post* 3000 B.C. as the earliest, and *ante* 1800 as the latest possible. This will fit well with our theory that the later building (2) was connected with Shamshi-Adad I, c. 1840, and it may well be that the S.W. half of the building (which was destroyed in Romano-Parthian times) had originally contained his cylinders. If this be so, we should see in (1) traces of the E-Me-nu-e of Manishtushu, which the ash shews to have been destroyed by fire.

The small chamber in Sect. WW contains two factors which may mark it as later than the above: the presence of early cuneiform clay

tablets, of whatever date they may be, and the burnt bricks which correspond in size to those which we have attributed to Ashur-rîsh-ishi on —10' (p. 64), c. 1120 B.C.

(2) *The Kassite Period.*

After Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1840) there is little reference to the Temple for nearly five hundred years during the Kassite period: we find a hymn to Ishtar of Nineveh in the Hurri language (Hrozný, *Völker und Sprachen, Boghaz Köi Studien*, No. 5, p. 48, n. 1), and Dushratta, king of Mitanni, sends the goddess to Egypt, just as his father had done (Bezold-Budge, *Tell-el-Amarna Tablets*, XLII). Then in the period of Ashur-uballit (c. 1380) we find the name of Ishtar of Nineveh used as a rallying cry by the Assyrian troops fighting against the Kassites (*Arch.*, 131):—

‘Behind the gods, his helpers, the king at the forefront of the army began the fight,  
Crying, “I am Ashur-uballit, the destroying giant,” cast down (their) corpses,  
The warriors of Ashur, eager for the fray, were facing death,  
They shouted “Ishtar—how long will they cast down the Lady in confusion?”’

It is probable that it was Ashur-uballit who dedicated the macehead of Kadashman-Enlil I (?) (the Kassite king of c. 1400 B.C.) to the Temple after a victory (see Pl. LXXXIII, 267, p. 107, and *Illustr. Lond. News*, 1932, 98).

(3) *The Period after the Kassites (a).*

Ashur-uballit (c. 1380) is said by Shalmaneser I and Ashur-naṣir-pal to have repaired the great Temple, doubtless after his defeat of the Kassites. We have, however, no record of his own of this work, but it may be that the earthquake which laid it waste in the time of [Shalmaneser I] swallowed up his inscriptions. This earthquake (*ribe*, hitherto translated ‘street’) is mentioned by Shalmaneser I (c. 1280) and Ashur-rîsh-ishi (c. 1120).

Shalmaneser I (c. 1280) has left us *zigâti* (p. 93) and numerous inscribed bricks (*A.A.A.*, 98) out of place, but there is nothing in the excavations which we can definitely identify as his work, unless perhaps it is the long drain in Sect. F (see *A.A.A.*, 86). His son Tukulti-Ninurta (c. 1250) also carried out some repairs (p. 114), but it is doubtful if they were extensive. Then came a second earthquake in the time of Ashurdân (c. 1187), when the *namiri* of the Great Gate of the Lions’ Heads of the Great Court of the Temple were badly shaken, as Ashur-rîsh-ishi tells us.



Now, although we do not know the meaning of *namiru*, nor where the Great Gate was, the courtyard is very obvious on the plan (Pl. XC), and the importance of recognizing the locality will be obvious from the next paragraph.

In repairing the *namiri*, Ashur-rîsh-ishi says that he raised it (or them) from 15 *tipki* (brick-widths) to 50, surrounding the *namiri* with stone *iaeri*. Now the mention of the courtyard suggests the clue that the locality of the *namiri* is somewhere near Sects. 00-DD on the plan (Pl. XC), and the question arises whether we should not associate the central part of the main foundation which goes so much deeper than the rest (c. 2) with the restoration of Ashur-rîsh-ishi. This deep mass of *libn*, covering an area approximately of 50' × 35', goes down for about 19' from its top (the lowest course being on 13' below *datum* and the top 6' above).<sup>1</sup> At 10' below *datum* (3' higher than its lowest course) were three burnt bricks embedded in the *libn*, with dimensions 1' 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ " sq. × 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", 1' 0 $\frac{3}{4}$ " × 1' 0 $\frac{1}{4}$ " × 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ ", and 1' 0 $\frac{1}{2}$ " × 6 $\frac{1}{4}$ " × 3 $\frac{3}{4}$ " (a 'header'). The depth at which they were found is some indication of their age, and the width of the bricks suggests certainly Ashur-rîsh-ishi as their maker (one of whose bricks is 3 $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick, Pl. LXXXVIII). We can eliminate Shalmaneser I as the maker, for his bricks are too thin (2 $\frac{3}{8}$ " to 2 $\frac{1}{2}$ ", A.A.A., Pl. XIX).

The same may be said of the one record of a brick of Tukulti-Ninurta (2 $\frac{1}{2}$ " thick, Pl. LXXXVIII): the bricks of the main pavement in the courtyard, which may be of Shamshi-Adad IV (see p. 66), are only 2 $\frac{1}{4}$ " thick; and as for Ashur-naşir-pal, his bricks are set on the top of the *libn*, so that, although the size of them might coincide, his period is obviously much later. We think that if the large number of inscriptions of Ashur-rîsh-ishi be taken into account with the association in the thickness of these bricks, as well as the necessity of assigning this section of the foundation to one of the kings shortly after the Kassite period, we shall not be far wrong in choosing him as the founder of this deep *libn* mass in DD.

But there is a still better piece of evidence in his inscriptions, and this is the fact that he records the raising of the *namiri* from 15 brick courses to 50. Actually the number of brick courses here reaches 54 (the number

1. In the Romano-Parthian period it had been much excavated for its clay, and we cleared the earth which had filled the hole which had been made. At -18' was a pavement of potsherds on the S. side, like the one in Sect. U, -15'. We ceased digging at -20'.



in the surrounding foundation being from 18 to 20), but we have doubtless to allow for the assaults of time and the renovations by later hands: the point lies in the great number 54, as compared with the 18-20 of the rest of the foundation.

Until, therefore, other evidence arises, we suggest that Ashur-rîsh-îshi founded the deep mass in Sect. DD, c. 1120 B.C. (For a less probable alternative, see p. 68.)

#### (4) *The Period after the Kassites (b).*

From (3) we can go on to the main foundation (c. 3), which appears to be so similar in construction that there is some reason to suppose that Ashur-rîsh-îshi was the founder of this, too. There is no obvious line of demarcation between the deep *libn* of DD and the remainder of the foundation, and since 'cellar' No. 5 was certainly made before the burnt bricks of the courtyard were laid down, and since these cannot be attributed to so late a king as Ashur-naṣir-pal (see p. 67), again there seems to be no reason against choosing Ashur-rîsh-îshi as the founder of the great *libn* foundation.<sup>1</sup> Its present condition, where it has not been destroyed for its clay, is almost as it was in Ashur-naṣir-pal's time, so that a few hundred years is as nothing to its lasting qualities.

This great superficies formed the foundation of the Temple down to the Destruction in 612 B.C. It is usually about 6' thick, of 18-20 courses of tawny or reddish unburnt brick (1' 0" to 1' 2" sq. and 0' 4" to 0' 4½" thick), set at an angle of 35°-36½° E. of N. The level of the top (+1' 0" to a little below *datum*-level) lay about 5' below the surface. In Sect. KQ the *libn* tails off, badly cut about in post-Assyrian times, where a Romano-Parthian settlement (and also another still later) is built along a pebble roadway (see Pl. XLIX, 2). This roadway may have been in existence in Assyrian times, since its path leads to the drain which shoots steeply down to the N.W., down the ancient slope, into what is believed to be the site of Ashur-naṣir-pal's palace (*A.A.A.*, 86), and if roadways on the slopes were then anything like the roadways in the modern steep-built village of Nebi Yunus, the drains would have formed the middle part of the track, down which the rains would pour headlong.

The S.E. part of the area excavated shewed that the Temple had been badly ruined on this side (see p. 76).

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1. Unless the difference of base-levels is insurmountable. Perhaps this may be explained by our postulating a very great weight on the area DD, which demanded a more solid mass.

The better preserved area of the Temple was that lying to the S. and S.W., where were the curious 'cellars' and the large courtyard, which was later than the main foundation (see (5) and Pl. XLVI, 4).

The seven 'cellars,' for want of a better name, are narrow, cellar-like constructions built in the *libn* of the main foundation. They may have been filled with earth purposely, and round them may have been built chambers, abutting on them, so that light and air may have thereby been admitted.<sup>1</sup> In any case the chambers would naturally have been small, if the builders had relied on wooden beams for the roof.

Each 'cellar,' however, was built with a series of narrow 'steps' all round at the top of three courses of *libn* each, which does not entirely coincide with the supposition above. For this reason they may have been storage cellars for corn, cooling wine, and so forth.

'Cellar' No. 1 contained in its upper earth squared stone blocks and bricks of Shalmaneser I and Sennacherib. 'Cellar' No. 3 (built with at least four 'steps' of three courses each) contained in its lowest earth a piece of marble inscription, probably of Ashur-našir-pal, and some beads, one of which was of the 'artificial tooth' variety (see Beck, *Antiquity*, 1931, 428). 'Cellar' No. 7 (Pl. L, 3) had perhaps an entrance in the S. corner, but it was doubtful. It is possible that the 'stepped' *libn* between Sects. DD-T marks the remains of another 'cellar.'

In Sects. O-N we drove a tunnel 6' long under the *libn* of the Temple, so that the underside of the lowest course formed the roof, and found in it one very poor painted sherd (Vth period) and one piece of the red ware. The wall running N.W.-S.E. between the 'buttress' and the vaults is difficult. It was of 11 courses of *libn*, 5' high (bricks 5" thick) and 4' wide, the top approximately level with vault top (= -6', 8' below surface). The 'buttress' on -9' 6" consisted of 3 courses of rough stones and bricks, 1' 2" high, and 2 pieces of Anp. stone inscr., 1 Anp. brick, 2 or 3 painted bricks (9th cent.), and one iron nail. It adjoins the *libn*, but was not built in.

(5) *The Period c. 1000 B.C.* (The courtyard, the large pavement (No. III with poor restorations II and I), and the drain in Sects. OO-PP.)

As we have pointed out on p. 58, since the drain (which is part of Pavement No. III in the courtyard) lies above the top of 'Cellar' 5, the courtyard, which covered an area of about 65' × 60', must have been

1. If so, the broken inscriptions found in them must be later intrusions.

bricked at a period subsequent to the main foundation, *i.e.* probably later than Ashur-rish-ishi (c. 1120 B.C.). On the other hand, since Ashur-našir-pal lays his bricks on the surface of the actual *libn* foundation (and not on plain earth, as is done in the courtyard) his work would appear to be different from and thus almost certainly later than that of the courtyard, in spite of the broken *Bêt-Nathî* (Anp.) brick found under it (a doubtful piece of evidence, p. 102).

The burnt bricks of Pavement III in the courtyard are uninscribed and measure  $1' 3'' \text{ sq.} \times 2\frac{1}{4}''$ , the pavement itself being on  $-2' 6''$ . In it, however, was one 'obtrusive' brick of different size ( $1' 8'' \times 1' 7'' \times 3''$ ), doubtless a repair, which coincides with the unusually large size of one class of Anp. ( $1' 8'' \times 1' 8'' \times 2\frac{1}{2}''$ ), that we may add it to our evidence for the belief that Pavement III was made before Ashur-našir-pal.

At the N.E. edge of this pavement, parallel to (at  $127\frac{1}{2}^\circ$  and  $127^\circ$  E. of N.) and close to the great mass of *libn* of Ashur-rish-ishi, was the long drain, which we have already mentioned, which may have extended to 86' to the N.W. from its upper end in the pavement. Its purpose, of course, was to carry off the rain water, which, as any one who knows Mosul will remember, falls in torrents in the winter. The channel,  $11\frac{1}{2}''$  wide, was formed by bricks, the actual base of it being one brick in size, and a line of bricks on each side formed the gutter, the total width being  $2' 6''$ , the dimensions of the bricks at the upper end being  $1' 2\frac{1}{2}''$  to  $1' 3'' \text{ sq.} \times 2\frac{3}{4}''$  to  $3''$  thick. The upper end of the channel was on  $-3' 6''$ , and it ran without a break for  $60' 6''$ , beyond the edge of the *libn* foundation, again perhaps picking up, after  $7'$  gap, a stone construction of  $4'$  long, based on  $-9' 6''$ , followed by another gap of  $7'$  or  $8'$ , when there was a ponderous mass of stones and bricks (of the same dimensions,  $1' 2'' \text{ sq.} \times 3''$ ) based on  $-16'$ , with its top on  $-12'$ . This should give a fall of about  $9'$  in  $86$ , or  $1$  in  $9\frac{1}{2}'$ .

A subsidiary drain,  $16' 9''$  in length,  $\angle 236\frac{1}{2}^\circ$ , made with pot-gutters  $2' 6''$  long,  $5''$  high, met this in Sect. MM on  $-11'$ ; and another, near the top under the *libn* wall  $\angle 41^\circ$ , at right angles to the main drain, running S.W.,  $7' 6''$  long, made of bricks.

[It is more than probable that the old drain which L. W. King found in 1903-4, and I published in *C.E.N.*, Plan 9, continued this drain (after a point about  $106'$  from its top on the brick-paved court). It will be seen that the bricks are about the same size.]

If our premises about the ascription of the dating of the main *libn*

foundation to Ashur-rîsh-îshi are correct, we can assign a reasonable date to Pavement III of the great courtyard. That this latter is later than the *libn* foundation is obvious from the way in which the drain crosses the top of 'cellar' 5: that it is earlier than Ashur-našîr-pal, has already been shewn to be probable.

The one intermediate king who restored the Temple is Shamshi-Adad IV (c. 1000 B.C.), whose *zigâti* (p. 98) tell us that he repaired the *bît-namîru* (doubtless of this Temple). We have already suggested that the *namîru* was in this neighbourhood, so that we may see the evidence of both locality and period converging to suggest him as the builder. There is a little negative evidence in the fact that this large area of burnt bricks, not one of which is inscribed (an unusual phenomenon for the bricks of a Mesopotamian king), stands out distinctly in connection with Shamshi-Adad IV, who was one of the kings who, like Ashur-bani-pal, was a restorer of the Temple who has not left us a single brick-record of the fact. The alternative is to see in Ashur-rîsh-îshi the builder of this courtyard: his known bricks (see p. 64) are certainly of this thickness, but we have no certain record of the size of the superficies of his bricks (unless we are right in our assumption about the three bricks found in DD, p. 64, in which case they do not coincide with the bricks of Pavement III). If, however, the pavement were that of Ashur-rîsh-îshi, we should have to assign the main *libn* foundation to Shalmaneser I (or, less probably, his son), a most unlikely theory, since not one of his numerous inscribed burnt bricks has been found *in situ* there.

[Traces of work in burnt brick lay above small sections of this pavement: Pavement II, on  $-1' 0''$ , in the middle of Sect. OO, much broken; and Pavement I, to the N.W. of Pavement II, on  $-0' 0''$ , bricks  $1' 6\frac{1}{2}''$  sq.  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}''$  on a base of *libn* (bricks  $1' 2''$  sq.  $\times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ , which does not coincide in size with the *libn* of the main foundation). Both are trivial, and their area is so very small that they can hardly be considered as a renewal of the pavement, unless we are to believe that wholesale depredations have removed the most of the superficies.]

In digging about this level near the head of the drain in Sect. OO we came on fragments of cuneiform tablets of a fairly early period, but, until they are properly worked out, it is inadvisable to suggest a date closer than to say that they are probably not earlier than the Kassite period. A few feet to the N.E. of the drain-head, at a higher level, were the greater part of a large syllabary tablet of 7th-century date, and

pieces of alabaster vases, of which one was carved with two lions (Pl. LI, 4). On the plan (Pl. XC) can be seen marked a small rectangular stone cist set into the edge of the *libn* 4' N.E. of the drain head, about the same level. This may once have contained tutelary figures, similar to those which L. W. King and I found in the great courtyard in Ashurbanipal's palace (see my *Pilgrim's Scrip*, 61), and actually we found such a figure in lead in SS, +3', which may have come from it originally.

(6) *Ashur-naṣir-pal*.

The remains of Ashur-naṣir-pal's work are the next to consider. In Sect. R was the best Anp. pavement *in situ*, the one which first made us certain that we had found the Temple. It was built in two layers of bricks at an angle of 37° E. of N., on +1' 0", and while many of the bricks had the simple inscription (*Arch.*, No. 61), others recorded the restoration (sim. to *Arch.* No. 57: *A.A.A.*, Nos. 29, 33 adding *ar-ṣip* before *u-ṣak-lil*: and a shortened form). Between the two courses was a bed of bitumen and mud, there being mud between the interstices, and the inscriptions were put face upwards to read any way.

To the N. of Sect. R was a small pavement of inscribed Anp. bricks, also with bitumen below (level +1' 0"), and a third to the E. of Sect. S in two layers (*Inscr.*, *Arch.*, No. 59).

Between Sects. F-K were the remains of a mass of Anp. inscribed burnt bricks, about six bricks thick and well laid. The *libn* near it rose some 6" above the level of the top of this mass, which is a grouping of bricks not unlike those at the bottom of the drain in Sect. C (*A.A.A.*, Pl. XXXIX). The bricks were definitely stuck with bitumen against the end of the S.E. stone wall of Chamber 7: the use of bitumen with bricks was according to Anp.'s custom, but certainly part of this wall was later than this king since it contained pieces of inscribed Anp. bricks. Yet the marks of the courses were plain in the bitumen against the side of the stone walling after the bricks had been removed, and it would seem obvious that the earliest part of the stone wall had been built before this addition of the bricks. On the other hand, the two other walls were as late or still later, the N.W. containing broken Anp. bricks, and the N.E. pieces of Abp. Nabû inscriptions. Everything points to a post-Assyrian use of this chamber, and it is difficult to see how to reconcile this with the assumption that this well-laid mass of bricks goes back to the 9th century.



The earlier *libn* walls on the surface of this great foundation may be attributable to this king, and among these must be included the great wall some 65' long and 8' thick. These correspond generally to the angle of the side of the Temple-foundation: but it will be seen that others are of a different angle, and these, at least, must be later (cf. Sect. NN).

It was not clear to us how far we were to see an original stairway in the apparent 'stairs' of *libn* in Sect. EE.

[From S+1, R, and a wall in T came pieces of a small hard sandstone stela of Adad-nirari III, 805-782 (to be published subsequently), a deed of assignment of the province of H̄indana to the governor Nergal-ereš, who is already known to us from the stela discovered in 1905 in the desert south of the Sinjar Hills and published by Unger (*Reliefstela Adadniraris III*, and see Luckenbill, *Anc. Rec.*, I, 260). This king repaired the Temple of Nabû (see *Arch.*, 123, No. 66) and completed the palace of his father Shamshi-Adad (see *A.A.A.*, 100, No. 39), but we have no record of his having repaired the Temple of Ishtar. Nevertheless this stela may have been deposited for record in the latter Temple. It is a coincidence that the fragment of obelisk (*A.A.A.*, XXVI, 1) should contain a portrayal of the tribute of H̄indana to some king of approximately the 9th century, probably Ashur-našir-pal or Shalmaneser.]

In the E. part of Sects. I and O was the lower part of the marble sculpture mentioned on p. 56, set at an angle of  $39\frac{3}{4}^{\circ}$  E. of N. (see Pl. XLIX, 3). On the face had once been the king (Ashur-našir-pal) receiving three tributary kings, the first wearing sandals, the second barefooted, and the third with upturned shoes, but now only the lower part of these figures remained. On the back had been the big Standard Nineveh inscription of this king (at least in triplicate). Of this slab we found about 110 broken pieces in the neighbourhood (many of them having been used for post-Assyrian buildings), which we put together (see Pls. LXXXV-LXXXVII, and p. 107). The face of the sculpture, which had been exhibited in the Temple, had been destroyed by fire, but the inscription on the other side having been protected by the *libn* wall against which it had stood, except that it was in pieces, was in excellent condition.<sup>1</sup> It gives the extent of the king's conquests, and tells how he had taken 50,000 men to obtain wood from the land of Mehri to build his temples, and how he had restored the Temple of Ishtar, which had been built by

1. It has been presented to the Birmingham Art Gallery, where it will shortly be on exhibition.



Shamshi-Adad. Not dissimilar from this inscription is his *zigātu* (F, 4), which gives Ashur-uballit as the builder's name.

To the N. side of this sculpture, at right angles to it, was a rectangular clean cut in the *libn*, as though for holding a similar (but larger) slab, but I doubt if any of the pieces of slabs which we found could be assigned to this. Behind this also were traces of a solid *libn* wall.

(7) *The restorations of Ashur-bani-pal.*

No further repairs on the Temple appear to have been made until the time of Ashur-bani-pal. As has long been known, this king has left several limestone slabs, dedicated to E-Mashmash, the Temple of Ninlil, similar to those of the Temple of Nabû (of which there must have been 400 originally), as a pavement, to record his victory over the Elamites. As the text is well known,<sup>1</sup> and as the variants which we found are unimportant, we are not republishing it. But whereas we found the pavement in front of the Temple of Nabû chiefly constructed of Nabû slabs (but there was always a doubt whether this pavement represented Ashur-bani-pal's actual construction), we found no such pavement in the Temple of Ishtar, and the slabs and pieces of the Ishtar text were far less in number than those of the other Temple.

Of Ashur-bani-pal's other inscriptions in this Temple we have also to record a magnificent massive limestone historical text in triplicate, which we found in about 120 pieces, which, it is hoped, will be published shortly. This is the text containing the mention of Cyrus I, to which attention was drawn in the *Birmingham Post* of Sept. 28, 1931.<sup>2</sup>

There was not, however, anything *in situ* in our excavations which could be proved by inscriptions to be of Ashur-bani-pal. There were no bricks at all bearing his name. There were, however, two adjacent *libn* pavements between OO and DD (Pl. XCI) on the top of the older courtyard of burnt brick (which we have ascribed to Shamshi-Adad IV on very little evidence) which may have been due to him. By their superimposition above Pavement III and its two later 'repairs' (II and I) (the level of their top being +1' 0"), their date can hardly be earlier than the 7th century; moreover, the angle at which one is set (45°) is

1. Layard, *Inscription* 86; III R., 66, No. 2; S. A. Smith, *Keils. Asurbanipals*, II, Pl. ii; King, *C.T.*, X, Pl. 8. The latest translation is in Luckenbill, *Ancient Records*, II, 996.

2. Here should be mentioned that Weidner published in the same year in *Archiv f. Orientforschung*, VII, Heft 1-2, a similar discovery from a cylinder from Babylon.

different from that of the Anp. foundation ( $35^{\circ}$ - $36\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ ), the other being at  $37^{\circ}$ .<sup>1</sup>

Towards the S.W. side of the Temple are three periods of *libn*: (1) the early chamber already described on p. 61; (2) the main foundation, presumably of Ashur-rish-ishi; and (3) a later addition on a base  $-2'$  to  $-2' 6''$  (with bricks  $1' 2''$  sq.  $\times 4''$ ) actually still retaining the remains of walls much dissolved by rain, rising to  $+3' 6''$ .

There is also a *libn* wall ( $\angle 41^{\circ}$ , base  $-4' 0''$ ,  $4' 3''$  thick, of 4-5 courses, with bricks  $1' 5''$  sq.  $\times 5''$ ) running across the drain, and another in Sect. CC, just above the mark '*t. O' O''*' on the plan, Pl. XC, on  $-1' 0''$ , of 2-3 courses (bricks  $1' 4''$  sq.  $\times 4\frac{1}{2}''$ ), which should probably be attributed to the 7th century.

There should be included the magnificent copper head<sup>2</sup> (Pl. L, 1, 2) and the spearhead (to be published subsequently) as perhaps having been dedicated to the Temple by Ashur-bani-pal. These were found not far from the largest piece of Shamshi-Adad's cylinder: they can hardly have been made at Nineveh, as their date would appear to be far earlier than anything of the kind which would have been made there. The head, life-size, very solid and heavy, although partly hollow, is, as the photograph shews, bearded, with the hair bound in a tight knot at the back, and banded with a twisted cloth. The eyes must have been filled with more precious metal, since both have gone, one shewing clear traces of very forcible gouging. On the spearhead, written in linear archaistic cuneiform (perhaps put on at a late date), were the words Bit-ilu Nin-lil, 'Temple of Nin-lil,' and this use of the name Nin-lil, compared with the same use on the Temple paving of Ashur-bani-pal, allows us to presume that it is possible that the head was part of Ashur-bani-pal's loot from Elam, when he carried off numerous statues of various materials in his eighth (Elamite) campaign. Indeed, its appearance might lend itself again to the theory that it had been carried off by the Elamites from Babylonia, in their raid on Erech in the reign of Kudur-nanhundi, 1635 years previously. Both the twisted fillet and the hair knotted at the back of the head are the same as in the famous gold head-piece of Mes-kalam-shar of the First Dynasty of Ur. It can hardly be a

1. One of these was  $2'$  thick, with bricks  $1' 3''$  sq.  $\times 3\frac{3}{8}''$ .

2. Not yet tested whether copper or bronze; but the spearhead found with it is certainly copper, as Mr. Padgham of the British Museum was so good as to test for us. This latter is  $11\frac{1}{4}''$  long, socketed,  $1\frac{1}{8}''$  wide at the base, with small tangs, one on each side.

head of Manishtushu, who wore his hair unsnooded (De Morgan, *Délég. en Perse*, V, Pl. I).<sup>1</sup>

(8) *The traces of the Destruction in 612 B.C.*

The destruction of the Temple by fire, presumably at the Destruction in 612 B.C., was obvious on the face of the trench in Sects. O-N-M as one looked S.W. Here the ash, 1' thick, was inclined at an angle of 45° from the *libn* to a further depth of 4', and ran along for about 20' away from the *libn*. It was approximately of the same level as the two courses of *libn* bricks above the vaults, marking work much later than the vaults, perhaps even 7th century. In the S.W. profile of Sect. T, a belt of ashes runs down to S. at an angle of about 30°, 3" to 6" wide, from about a foot down the side of the Temple *libn*. Above this, parallel to it, running down from the top of the *libn* in the same direction was a fall of earth, bones, etc. (At -9' in this section was a rough line of pebbles.)

But perhaps not all the ash found belonged to the Destruction: in Sect. T was a different kind of ash, below certain *libn*; and thus, either the *libn* was much cut about even before 612 B.C., or the ash was pre-Destruction, or some of the *libn* walling here was post-Assyrian (see p. 76 for the existence of post-Assyrian *libn*).

The history of the Temple-site may be summed up, therefore, as follows:—

- (1) (Prehistoric Period to 3000 B.C., and some Sumerian connection.)
- (2) Uncertain hiatus, if any.
- (3) Manishtushu, the first known builder (c. 2450) (E-Me-nu-e).
- (4) Shamshi-Adad I (c. 1840) repaired it.
- (5) Kassite period until Ashur-uballit (c. 1380), who presumably freed the Temple from the Kassite enemy, and is said to have repaired it.
- (6) Earthquake, followed by the repairs of Shalmaneser I (c. 1280) and his son Tukulti-Ninurta (c. 1250). Another earthquake in the time of Ashur-dân (c. 1187).
- (7) Repair to the *namiru* of the Great Gate of the Lions' Heads of the great Court by Ashur-rish-ishi (c. 1120). He was perhaps the builder of the main foundation. Dedication of statue of the goddess Ishtar by Ashur-bêl-kala (c. 1080 B.C.).

1. We have included in the texts a nearly complete *zigûtu* text of Sargon's restoration of the Temple of Nabû (p. 103), a marble slab of Sennacherib (p. 114) and a brick of the latter recording his work on the ramparts. An interesting millstone was found on the mound near a solitary brick of Esarhaddon describing repairs apparently to a mill (p. 116); both must have been brought in from elsewhere.

(8) Paving of the great courtyard by Shamshi-Adad IV (?) (c. 1000 B.C.).

(9) Renovation by Ashur-našir-pal (c. 883-859), with pavements and sculpture.

(10) Pavement of Ashur-bani-pal (668-626), not found; large triplicate limestone inscription.

*Destruction of Nineveh, 612 B.C.*

(9) *The post-Assyrian buildings.*

After the Destruction in 612 there appears to have been no occupation at least until the 3rd century B.C. (see *Arch.*, 138), and perhaps not until the 2nd or even 1st. The earliest coins are of the 2nd century B.C., including the 'Nineveh Mint' (*A.A.A.*, 93); but it is not until the Christian era is reached that we begin to find a satisfactory sequence.

It is best to divide up the terrain excavated into sections for the post-Assyrian buildings.

(A) *The N.E. side of the Temple.*

Here is a street with houses on either side of a roadway, in Sects. X, Q, K, F, W, R, J (continued in E, D in *A.A.A.*). Those on the N.E. side of the road appear to be of earlier date than those of the same level on the S.W. side. The earliest group is of the Romano-Parthian period, and ends about the 13th-14th centuries A.D. (See Pl. XLIX, 2).

The characteristics of the buildings on the same level here (approximately —6' 0") on the two sides of the road are distinct. On the N.E. side are chambers (Nos. 4, 5, 6, 10, and part of 7<sup>1</sup>), regularly built with well-made bases of walls of pieces of limestone, with every similarity with the walls in Sects. D, E, which must be of the Romano-Parthian period. The finds from the neighbourhood go to show that there was definite Romano-Parthian occupation hereabouts of the 1st-3rd centuries A.D. The evidence is as follows:—

*Pottery*.—Pl. LII, 16 (E, 10); 20 (J, 8); *A.A.A.*, Pl. XXXVII, 1 (D, 10); Pl. XXXVIII, 3 (D, 6); 6 (D, 8).

*Glass*.—Pl. LXVI, 35, 36 (Roman glass, J, 7).

*Figurines*.—Pl. LXVII, 23, 24 (F, 11); Pl. LXVIII, 11, 12 (C, 18), 16

1. Note the possibility of an earlier base for this chamber on p. 69. Moreover, on the S.E. side, below the level of the rougher buildings was apparently Romano-Parthian work on —11' and —12' 6" between Sects. R-K (Plan on Pl. XCII), where the general level of the ground appears to have been lower than that immediately to the N.W. of the roadway.

(F, 13); *A.A.A.*, Pl. XXIV, 14 (D, 10); 15 (C, 13); 17 (C, 13); 25 (D, 9); 29 (D, 11).

*Bronze*.—The Roman soldier's badge (*A.A.A.*, Pl. XXII, 6 (D, 6)).

*Coins* (for the identification of which we have to thank Mr. J. Allan, Keeper of the Coin Department, British Museum).—Noticeably the two hoards dating from 124 B.C.<sup>1</sup> to 215 A.D. (see *A.A.A.*, 93; G. F. Hill, *Numismatic Chronicle*, 1931, XI, 2) coming from the Romano-Parthian levels in Sect. D (Layard speaks of a hoard, 74-201 A.D., in *Nineveh and Babylon*, 591); Antioch, 1st-2nd centuries A.D. (D, 6 and Q+1); Parthian, 1st century A.D. (D, 1 and W, 10); *denarii* of Hadrian, *d.* 138 A.D. (D, 6), Septimus, *d.* 211 A.D. (D, 6), Caracalla, *d.* 217 A.D. (D, 6); Caracalla (D, 8); Greek Imperial, (?) 2nd-3rd centuries (D, 4).

So much for the Romano-Parthian buildings on the N.W. side of the roadway. We can now discuss the later buildings on the S.E. side.

The walls in Chs. 1-3, 9 (which lie a few feet higher than the base of two walls of the Romano-Parthian period, -11' and -12' 6") frequently shewed three strata of building: the lowest, three courses of bricks and stones 15" high, containing Anp. bricks; above this, an interval of 6" of mud, and then a layer of stones; then a layer of 9" of mud and the top-most layer stones. The evidence which we have for assigning a date to these is as follows:—

(1) The similarity of the rough building of mixed old Assyrian bricks and stones to the mediaeval building in Sect. TT on -1' 0" (see p. 77). The absence of cement which frequently marks the very late buildings is noticeable here (see *Arch.*, 139, and *C.E.N.*, 140, where the later cemented buildings shew pottery dating between the 9th-13th centuries).

(2) A dump of late glazed pottery of uncertain date at the S. end of the street (so Mr. Hamilton).

(3) In the N.E. wall of Ch. 3, half-way down a fragment of late glazed pot, purple on white, perhaps of the 12th century.

(4) In an unimportant section of wall, not recorded on the plan, exactly similar to the section of wall which lies adjacent to the outside of Ch. 4, continuing the line of this latter to the S.W., was a late piece of white-glazed ware.

(5) The post-Romano-Parthian coins are: two Byzantine of the 6th century A.D. (D, 2; D, 3); three much later, Abbasid (Ch. 7, D, 13);

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1. It is probable that this is an intrusion, and should not be used in calculating the date of the buildings.



Atabegs of Mosul, 12th century (Q+3); Mongols of Persia, 13th century (D, 6).

Taking the above evidence into consideration, we can accept that the rough buildings on the S.W. side of the roadway were post-Romano-Parthian, and that in all probability they can be attributed to the 12th-13th centuries A.D. It is interesting to see that the Romano-Parthian buildings on the S.W. side of the roadway were at a lower level than those on the N.E.; and also, that the people who built these poor houses had entirely overlooked the existence of quantities of good pieces of limestone on the other side of the roadway, a fact proved by their having actually built one of their miserable walls alongside one of those Romano-Parthian walls in Ch. 4, which is a clear indication that the Romano-Parthian walls had been long buried by time and forgotten. It was also extraordinary to find (as Mr. Hamilton points out on p. 84) in various chambers on both sides of the road quantities of the prehistoric ware of the Vth Ninevite prehistoric period, as will be obvious from a glance at Pls. LIII-LXI. It was in W, 8 that we found the curious piece of 'ring-vase' (see p. 84), painted in black, in apparent imitation of prehistoric ware, with Aramaic characters (probably = 'Balaṣu,' *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, 29).

(B) *The scattered late buildings to the S.E. of the Temple, in T, U, V.*

Here, as will be seen from the plans, the *libn* has been badly destroyed, and there are numerous scattered walls of Romano-Parthian appearance, built on bases  $-5'$  and  $+1'$ . The Assyrian *libn* in Sect. T varied curiously, between 4 to 18 courses, doubtless owing to the original irregularity of the ground. In Sect. S, towards the E. side, near the edge of the *libn* (outside the Temple) were three large fallen water-pots or wine jars (on  $-9'$ ,  $-12'$  from surface). From S, 6 came a clay figurine of a spearman on horseback (Pl. LXVII, 19), which bears out the evidence of the coins U, 10, Rome (*Aequitas*, 26), and U, 5, Antiochus VII, 138-129 B.C., that there was Romano-Parthian occupation here. A later coin, U +0, Byzantine 6th-7th centuries, may have its bearing on the upper buildings of  $+1'$ , and it is noticeable that a house on U, 0' has a cement flooring, for which perhaps this coin may give us a certain date. As a rule, however, the cement floorings are later (see p. 75).

(C) *The scattered late buildings on the Assyrian libn, to the S. and S.W. of the Temple.*

These lie on  $-4$ ,  $-1$ ,  $-0$ ,  $+3'$  0" and  $+6'$  0", some being built even



of *libn*. The first post-Assyrian date assignable is from a coin of Hadrian, OO +4', another being doubtfully his, RR -3' (118-138 A.D.); then there is another of Antioch, PP -5', and another, of Gordian III, 238-244 A.D., PP surface. The next date-sequence will be from a coin of the Sassanian Firuz, 458-485 A.D., PP +7', and two coins of the 6th century (Byzantine, PP -0', OO +4'). The latest building of all is probably the cemented house in SS +2, whence came a coin of Masud II (Mosul), 1211-1218 (SS +3'), and one of the Dukes of Achaia, 13th century (VV, surface).

(D) *The late buildings in LL, MM, NN, TT.*

The 13th-century group is well marked here with two good houses shewing cement work and the use of oil presses.

(1) MM -3' 6" to -5' 6", whence came 13th-century pottery, a cemented oil press having been found near, in M, about 2' to 4' deep (Pl. XLIX, 4).

(2) MM +3' and +4', a late building of stones some 5-6 courses high, with a very obvious porch at one side, and a cement flooring, with a basalt corn-grinding stone and a circular limestone olive press (on three 'legs,' 3" to 6" thick, diam. 1' 7", height 1' 4", placed on the floor against the wall). Mr. Mallowan identifies the pottery hereabouts as Persian ware of the 12th-14th century A.D.; the coins coincide with this (NN, O, TT +3, Nasir-al-Din Mahmud, Zangid Atabeg of Mosul, 1219-1234 A.D.; LL +3, of the Atabegs of Mosul, 13th century). Near here must be mentioned two Hebrew (or perhaps Aramaic) incantation bowls, buried for magical purposes. They are unusual in Kouyunjik (MM +5, one in Baghdad) (see Pl. XLIX, 1).

Below this was an earlier building on -1' 0", built with a few solid limestone blocks and a wall of pieces of limestone, two doorways and a marble threshold, some of the pieces shewing Assyrian work. Mr. Mallowan identified the pottery as 5th-7th century A.D., and there was also a reclining figurine (NN +4, Pl. LXVII, 27) and a potter's stamp 'M' (NN, 4, Pl. LXVIII, 27). The coins indicate the period of the 2nd to the 6th century: M, 6, Sassanian, Sapor II, 309-379; MM, 1, Roman, c. 350 A.D.; MM, 3, Byzantine, 6th century; MM, 5, Roman, 2nd century A.D. A cylindrical limestone altar (MM, O), 1' 2" high and 9½" diam., may belong to this building.

In Sect. TT, close by, was a wall of the 13th century on 1' 0", superimposed on an earlier building. This 13th-century wall was roughly

made of Assyrian bricks and stones ; it can be dated by a hoard of coins dating 969 to 1118 A.D.<sup>1</sup> The wall below doubtless may be assigned to the date of the earlier coins in note (1) below. There were two good finds in the neighbourhood, probably of the two dates respectively : the later, a bronze helmet (Pl. LI, 3), and the earlier, a Roman funereal sculpture (Pl. LI, 1).

#### The Vaulted Tombs in Sects. N-BB. (Pl. XLVIII, 2, 3)

As excavations in these sections proceeded, Mr. Hamilton noticed that the N.E. façade of a large *libn* building contained arches which had been blocked up. This at first, since it spanned the little lost valley between the two Temples, we took to be a bridge, but as time went on and we discovered that it had a similar arched face at right angles (facing S.E.), it became obvious from their likeness to certain arches at Ur that these must be vaulted tombs. The whole complex, a solid mass of dark grey *libn* some thirty courses of bricks high, covers, as far as we have excavated it, a rectangular area of some 60' × 50', and includes three long, narrow, parallel vaults facing N.E., and two more similar facing S.E., the entrances and vaulting of all five having been solidly blocked with about eighteen or twenty courses of *libn* bricks of the same size as the remainder. We did not clear the N.W. face of the complex, and the S.W. face appears either never to have existed or to have been destroyed. In front of the N.E. face at a depth of about 20' and downwards, the earth appeared more and more like dried mud with only a few objects in it (beads, shells, bits of brick). This last bore out our belief that there had been a small valley here, and that rain had collected in front of the vaults, causing a muddy deposit. The top of the building was level, some -8 below *datum* ; above it, with an interval of a foot of earth, was a level flooring of two courses of entirely different red *libn* (1' 2½" to 1' 3" sq. × 5") which obviously belong to a much later period. The measurements of the vaults are :—height 15' 6", the base being on -23' 6", and formed of a platform about 3' thick from which sprang the arches ; the arches or vaults from floor to keystone, approx. 9' 0" high ; width of vault about 9' 6", and

1. This came from near the surface, the coins being of Antiochus IV, Epiphanes of Syria, 175-163 B.C. (probably an intrusion), and a Byzantine of the 6th century ; anonymous 'Emanuel' class from John I, 969 ; Constantine IX, 1042-1055 ; Theodora, 1055-1056 ; Constantine X, 1059-1067 ; Romanus IV, 1067-1071 ; Alexius I, 1081-1118. Outside this hoard was another Byzantine of the 6th century (TT, O, pit), and one of Chosroes II, 591-628 (NN, O).

the intervening space including piers 9' 8"; from the springing to the top of the building 11' 3". The bricks in the vaulting of the arches measured variously 1' 4½" to 1' 5" sq. × 6½" to 7", and 1' 2½" sq. × 5".

Unfortunately it became obvious that earlier hands than ours had been at work, and we found nothing of importance in these vaults. However, the dating is the first point to consider, and we can first draw evidence of vaulted tombs from Ur, excavated by Mr. Woolley. Some of the fourth millennium, to judge by his photograph (see his *Sumerians*, 36), are far inferior in workmanship to ours: the principle, however, was carried down with marked improvement to the time of Shulgi, c. 2250 (see his article, *The Antiquaries Journal*, 1931, 350).

Next, remembering that these vaulted graves have been plundered, it is not remote from possibility that the great quantity of beads, some 10,000, which we discovered in the preceding season in Sects. A, B, H at from 27' to 33' below the surface, may have been plundered from the tombs and scattered there as worthless by the robbers. To these beads Mr. Beck (who described them in *Antiquity*, 1931, 427) assigns a date not later than 2900 B.C. Among them was a little lapis bead representing a Sumerian (*A.A.A.*, XXV, 12), which may equally well, from its general appearance, be assigned to about 3000 B.C. or even earlier.

Round about them, both beneath the actual brickwork of the frontage of Vaults 1 and 2, and in the immediate vicinity, below the level of the base, in front of Vaults 5 and 4, were numerous rough unturned bowls of the type on Pl. LXI, 26, and *A.A.A.*, Pl. XXV, 16 (2 in N, 18, 8' to N.E. of S.E. pier of Vault 1: on -25' a row of about 18, 7' long and 2' deep below the base of the centre portion of Vaults 1 and 2, 27' 6" below the surface of the mound), near which were pieces of bone and certainly animal teeth with minute pieces of black ash and bitumen. Nine of these were upturned, seven the right way up. We dug at this point to -29' and -30' below the surface.

On the S.E. side (Vaults 5 and 4) just in front of Vault 4, 2' below the level of the threshold, were a spouted pot, almost whole, an upturned bowl, and several pieces of coarse pottery, a stone corn-rubber, and a good obsidian flake. In front of Vault 5 were six rough stones projecting as a kind of threshold. About 2' below the base-level, in front of the façade of Vaults 5 and 4, were what appeared to be burials. No. 1 (3' distant to S.E. from N.E. pier of Vault 5) consisted of a group of half a dozen upturned bowls with bones; No. 2, close to S.E. of façade,

opposite N.E. pier of Vault 5, three upturned bowls and a mass of bones. Another spouted pot was found *beneath* the two vaults, below the foundation.<sup>1</sup> To these upturned bowls Mr. Mallowan has assigned the period c. 4000 B.C., so that our evidence for the dating of these vaults (the parallel vaults at Ur of the fourth millennium, the Sumerian figure probably not later than 3000 B.C., and the upturned bowls) would allow us to assign them to the fourth millennium, perhaps not too early in that period.

There would appear to have been the pits of ancient plunderers in these tombs as follow :—(1) Part of the frontage of Vaults 1 and 2 may have been cut back. (2) The E. corner between Vaults 1 and 4 shewed much ancient destruction, and it was in the earth which had refilled this burrowing that we found a scarab at N, 16. (3) Behind the frontage of Vaults 2-3 a broad shaft had been sunk straight down through the *libn*, which must have intercepted any ancient interment in either vault. We continued this, or near this, in Vault 3, with a rectangular shaft 7' below the level of the base of the vaults, 35' from the surface, finding layers of ash, red clay, and pieces of burnt brick. (4) In Vault 5 was an old shaft driven down from the top. (5) In Vault 2 on the N.E. side we found a late glazed sherd at about —14' below *datum*. There appears also to have been some tunnelling in Vault 1, and when we drove a shaft down through No. 1 from the top, we found a few Assyrian remains of c. 1100-1000 B.C., which were probably intrusions. But below 20 courses of the *libn* we found only very crude potsherds. Just below the *libn* base of this vault we came on a floor containing several of the usual coarse bowls, many upturned, and traces of bones, and a slab, about 18" square, laid flat, under which was a similar bowl and traces of bones. 3' S.W. from it was a cornelian bead, a fluted stone bead-divider, and a composition bead; and about 2' or 3' below this a bronze or copper needle and a small flint flake.

#### THE POTTERY DISCOVERED IN 1930-31 <sup>2</sup>

The pottery discovered on and in the immediate neighbourhood of the Temple area falls into two groups. The first, deriving from suc-

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1. Figured in the *Illustr. London News*, 1931, p. 1121, Fig. 12, the lowest in the right-hand corner; and Pl. LXI, 16.

2. This share of the work and the drawings on Pls. LII-LXI were in Mr. Hamilton's control, and he has written the following description of them.

cessive occupations of the mound subsequent to the destruction of Nineveh in 612 B.C., represents a period extending from the Parthian occupation until about the 13th century A.D. The second, of which the dating is still problematic, centres round a class of early painted ware already known both from Kouyunjik and from other north Mesopotamian mounds, of which we were fortunate enough to find several almost complete specimens as well as a large number of fragments which in many cases permitted confident reconstruction both of the forms and of the decoration. Closely associated with the painted ware was a class of similarly shaped incised or undecorated vessels. On grounds of style and provenance these wares must be attributed to a period anterior to the earliest phases of the history of the Temple: they have, in fact, generally been styled 'prehistoric.' Little or no direct evidence, however, was available to support any precise dating, and the circumstances of discovery, which will be described later, were not such as to justify any attempt at a definite chronology.

The gap between these two groups we were unable to bridge by any considerable class of pottery found during the season. The actual area of the Temple yielded almost exclusively Romano-Parthian and later fragments, while in the sloping debris that flanked the N.W. side of the brick platform no substantial group of pottery intervened between Romano-Parthian deposits and the painted ware, which was abundant.

#### *Post-Assyrian Wares.*

Although these in bulk constitute the greater part of the pottery yielded by the site, their chronological value is small owing to the complete lack of stratification in which the conditions of post-Assyrian occupation have resulted. Accumulation of debris has been slight, and what there is has suffered constant disturbance from the digging and burrowing activities of successive generations. Mediaeval pottery is found lying directly on Assyrian brickwork, while sherds of every period from the Parthian onwards are mixed in the fillings of pits and excavations which honeycomb the area. Architectural remains are too scanty to give coherence to the material.

On Pl. LII<sup>1</sup> can be seen examples of the principal decorated wares.

1. Imperfect specimens, where the form and decoration can be restored by the surviving fragments, have been drawn as if complete. Where there is any doubt or possibility of variation in the shape or design, the missing part has been left blank or restored in outline. The letters F.R. by a drawing indicate that the original is a fragment or fragments.



Of these the greater part belong certainly to the Romano-Parthian period. They are marked by a thick pale-blue glaze, unevenly applied, often porous and varying in tone from a greenish blue to silvery white (Numbers 1, 2, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 11, 13). The ware is generally white, or cream. Number 10, in the same ware and glaze, is decorated with a bearded bust in relief, set immediately below the handle, which with the uppermost part of the jug is missing. Numbers 16, 17, 18, 20 and 21 belong to a class of brown-buff ware, unglazed, with impressed or moulded ornament. Most examples of this type are partially smeared with an uneven red wash. One specimen had the letter H stamped on the bottom (Pl. LXIII, 7).

The remaining drawings on the plate represent post-Islamic glazed bowls. Number 14, in a buff ware, is covered both inside and out with a dark green glaze. Another common type, Number 15, cheaply imitating Chinese technique, is a mottled white, green and metallic purple brown. Nos. 12 and 19 are glazed over a greenish white slip, incised to produce beneath the glaze a design of wavy brown lines. The former of these has on the outside four prominent vertical ribs and a raised boss in each of the intervening panels. No. 22, dating probably not earlier than the XIIth century, is decorated on both sides of the bowl with a pale grey glaze. The rim is emphasized with a line of dark blue, and a curvilinear design in the same colour decorates the inner surface of the bowl.

In addition to these types the glazed sherds included fragments of dark blue-green 'Raqqā ware' characterized by rope handles, double or single, horizontal bands of rolled zig-zag ornament, and often a pair of bosses at the base of the handle (*cf.* Herzfeld and Sarre, *Archaeologische Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet*, Vol. IV, Pl. CXLV, 5). Fragments of other known wares included unglazed buff sherds stamped with medallions containing figures of stags and crosses (*cf.* Herzfeld and Sarre, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, pp. 10, 11, and Sarre, *Die Ausgrabungen von Samara*, Vol. II, p. 8 *sq.*), heavy jar fragments decorated in Barbotine technique and some fragments of fine XIIth-XIIIth century white ware, either plain or with moulded floral and figured designs in relief. With the Romano-Parthian pottery should be associated two or three fragments of *Terra Sigillata*, some Roman and late Hellenistic lamps, and fragments of lamp handles in the form of a palmette.



*The painted and related Wares.*

These constitute the most homogeneous and striking group of pottery found in the vicinity of the Temple. The group falls into two distinct but contemporary classes.

The first of these, embodying a variety of shapes to be described in what follows, is characterised by an external surface decoration of geometrical or natural designs executed in a paint that varies from dark purple to brown, red or green. The last colour is not the result of over-firing, but occurs on many well-baked examples; it is confined, however, to a drab or cream ware, while the purple or red decoration occurs frequently on buff. The texture of the clay varies. In the largest pots it is distinctly coarse, with a mixture of large white grits or, occasionally, chopped straw; in the smaller bowls the paste is finer, but the walls are in no case exceptionally delicate. The decorated surface is generally wet-smoothed before application of the design, but often the paint is laid on direct.

In the second class a series of similar shaped pots appear, either decorated with incised patterns or left plain: in the latter case the monotony of the surface is sometimes relieved by a sharp horizontal ribbing. The favourite ware employed in this class of pottery is a hard grey clay, varying in tone, and generally both smoother and finer in texture than that used for the painted pots.

The two classes are evidently contemporary; the shapes are practically identical, and though with uneven distribution over the site, specimens of both are frequently encountered together. Apart from stray fragments the ware was mainly found at different levels on the slope that once ran down from the Temple on the N.W. side, *i.e.* in Sects. N, O and CC. Here both painted and plain examples were found, but few of the incised variety. Many of the specimens were complete, or so nearly so as to make restoration certain. In Sect. N the most productive levels were between 5 and 12 feet below the *datum*, but some fragments were found as deep as 18 feet.<sup>1</sup> In Sect. O the ware was first met at 6 feet, and continued down to 12. In Sect. CC the limits were 8 and 17 feet respectively. Sherds were also found at a greater distance from the Temple in Sects. BB and M. In Sects. U and V plain and in-

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1. As is shewn on p. 64, the lowest course of the main foundation of the Temple lies on -13' in Sect. DD, but the usual depth of the bottom is about -5' to -6'.

cised sherds were found together in an ancient cutting at depths between 4 and 8 feet, but painted specimens were rare. On the other hand, in Sects. Q and X a large group of all three types was found, including a number of miniature or toy specimens and a class of small pots in drab or grey ware with vertically pierced suspension lugs. The depths of this group ranged from 1 foot below the *datum* (in this area near the surface of the Tell) to about 10 feet below it. Many of these fragments and pots were found in and below a series of rooms which we were subsequently able to date, by means of sherds and bricks found in the walls, both to the Romano-Parthian period and much later. No. 25, for example, of Pl. LVIII was found intact in a corner of Chamber 3 and still bears the marks of a fire which had been lit near by.

Under the circumstances the exact dating of this pottery must be regarded as uncertain. Herzfeld, who picked up sherds of this kind not only at Kouyunjik but also at Nimrud, Tell Dhahab and Umm-el-Shababit, attributes them to the late Assyrian period (*Arch. Reise im Euphrat und Tigris Gebiet*, Vol. I, p. 209). He there associates them with a later specimen from Hatra carrying traces of an Aramaic inscription. It happens curiously enough that among the painted fragments found by us is one, from Sect. W, 8, of a ring-vase decorated in similar style, which bears what appears to be a proper name in Aramaic characters (see *J.R.A.S.*, 1932, 29). But, whatever the explanation of this coincidence and of the puzzlingly late context of the painted and incised specimens found in square Q of our excavation, it would be impossible, in view of the style and provenance elsewhere of this pottery, to assign a late date to it.<sup>1</sup>

To pass to the pots themselves, four primary shapes with variations can be distinguished :—

I. Round bottomed bowls with beaded or straight rim. The greatest diameter, more or less pronounced, is generally a little less than half-way up the bowl (Pl. LIII). This shape is also commonly found plain or incised (Pl. LVIII, Nos. 10, 11, 12, 13).

II. Stemmed bowls (Pls. LIV and LVIII). Common to both painted, plain and incised styles. The type is notable for its great range in scale from the miniature (No. 22 of Pl. LVIII) to the giant (No. 1 of Pl. LVI). At the big end of the scale the bowl is supported not on a simple spreading

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1. Mr. Mallowan, from our excavations of 1931-32, assigns it to the third millennium.

foot but on a solid columnar stem or pedestal (No. 5, Pl. LVI). Fragments of these stems were common and varied greatly in size: the largest specimens, like the one here illustrated, are ribbed and pierced by rectangular slits driven horizontally through their axis, probably in connection with some arrangement to secure stability. These stems have heavy spreading feet, but are otherwise solid. Fragments of correspondingly large bowls were found, but none of them actually fitted any surviving stem, so that the restoration of one fragmentary example here shewn, No. 3, though probably correct, is conjectural. Several stems of intermediate size prove the continuity of these enormous vessels with the smaller bowls. They are generally painted, but a few small specimens in the grey ware were found.

III. Carinated stemmed vases with trumpet-shaped mouths and pierced lugs on the point of the shoulder (Pl. LV, excluding Nos. 4 and 9). The type is common to both painted and incised wares, though no incised specimen could be restored. No. 2 on the plate, though similar in shape, is unique in its method of decoration. The surface of the pot, which is very fragmentary, is covered with a thick slip, now discoloured by burning to a nondescript grey. The design is boldly cut out of the clay, the untouched smooth parts of the surface forming a framework in which the panels and bands of decoration are set. Four rudimentary pierced lugs are spaced round the shoulder, and the foot is also perforated. No other example of this technique was discovered.

IV. Large stemmed jars (Pl. LVII). A type found only in the painted ware. The body is sometimes ovoid in shape; sometimes it has a more or less pronounced shoulder. The fragments illustrated on the plate (Nos. 2, 4, 8 and 10) belong to vessels of this category.

Of these four shapes, which account for the greater part of the painted pottery capable of restoration, all except the last are found in the incised and plain wares. The latter include also two types of which no painted examples were found. They are:—

I. A round-bottomed bowl, narrowing at the neck to an everted lip (Pl. LVIII, 23, 24, 25; also 3 and 21).

II. 'Suspension' pots with narrow neck and everted lip (Pl. LVIII, 17, 18, 19, 20). The bottoms of these pots are generally too pointed for them to stand unsupported. As can be seen from the examples, considerable variety in shape was possible, but No. 19 represents what was by far the commonest type. These small pots were specially numerous

in Sects. Q and X. In Sect. Q, between the levels 1 and 8 feet, and in Sect. X, from 6 to 10 feet below the *datum*, 22 and 12 whole specimens respectively were found, apart from numerous fragments.

Outside the predominant shapes a few isolated examples of variant types occurred, such as Nos. 5 and 15 on Pl. LIII. No. 10 on the same plate, decorated with faint bands of red paint and a row of shallow incisions, has a small false spout. The ware is harder and finer than is usual in this pottery, and the general appearance, form and texture give the impression that the bowl belongs to a distinct and perhaps slightly earlier class.

No. 6 of Pl. LVI illustrates a species of heavy cylindrical drum that was found represented by several isolated fragments, but by no complete specimen, though enough survived of the example here drawn to make possible a restoration. The walls are thick and are pierced by eight rectangular openings set in opposite pairs. The purpose of these drums is obscure: they may have served as braziers, but the fragments shew no sign of burning.

Other unclassified fragments include No. 25 on Pl. LIX, which has a horizontal consolidating rim below the neck, and high pointed lugs. The ware of the example illustrated is coarse, and the paint has faded almost to invisibility. The form of the handle and rim recalls a painted vase of the 2nd period from Susa illustrated in *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, Vol. XIII, Pl. XXXI; in other respects the shape is entirely different.

#### *The Decoration.*

The surface decoration of these pots follows, as can be seen from the drawings, sufficiently straightforward lines. The regular ordering of the design is horizontal in continuous or panelled bands. In some cases, however (*e.g.* Pl. LIV, No. 7, and also Pl. LVII, Nos. 5 and 9), the vertical panelled idea has been particularly accentuated. In the bowls the part above the greatest diameter is generally treated independently, the lower half being either left plain or ornamented with festoons of concentric arcs—a favourite device for the lower parts of vessels of all types. The decoration of No. 2 on Pl. LIII, ignoring the contour of the bowl, is exceptional, though in the stemmed bowls the whole surface commonly receives uniform treatment.

The ornament as a whole suggests a mature technique, covering

surfaces with an ease derived more from the mastery of familiar motives than from any special fertility of ideas. The results are often successful, and the animal friezes are really effective, especially in some of the larger pieces, where endless processions of long-necked beasts with interlocking horns form an abstract pattern that, in spite of a certain overcrowding produced by the interpolated objects that almost invariably fill the spaces between necks or horns, is both vigorous and pleasing. Whether these interpolations are due to aesthetic or to symbolic and magical considerations, they do not always improve the design.

The artists were clearly not embarrassed by naturalistic prejudices, though a certain degree of realism is apparent in some of the designs. No. 1 of Pl. LIX shews birds on a tree: in No. 13 they seem to fly, unconvincingly, in the midst of foliage. On the whole, attempts at naturalism, where made, are artistically unsuccessful: witness the uprooted tree of No. 15, which, though fair as a representation of nature, makes but a poor design. On No. 4 of Pl. LVII the bird scratching its own beak combines a realistic theme with highly abstract treatment. The most successful blend of representation with design, so far as it is fair to judge from fragments, is the gazelles of Pl. LIX, No. 23, and, in a lesser degree, the ibex of No. 18.

Of the sherds on Pl. LIX, Nos. 11 and 12 require separate notice. In style and design they differ markedly from all other fragments found. On both, the design is executed in a bright red paint, rather thick in texture; the lines, especially of No. 12, are finer and more crisply drawn than is usual in the Nineveh pottery; the forms of the birds depicted differ absolutely from the usual representations; lastly, the rim of which No. 11 is a fragment corresponds to no form so far observed. For these reasons I am inclined to regard both sherds as importations.

No. 29, the lower part of a stemmed bowl of type II, is the only example on which the Maltese Cross occurs. Another peculiarity of this fragment is the quality of the paint, which approaches more nearly than any other to a pure black.

The incised pottery presents perhaps a greater variety of ornament than the painted: unfortunately, owing to the delicacy of the ware fewer whole or restorable examples have survived. Amongst a large collection of sherds, of which Pl. LX shews a selection, very few patterns were found to duplicate one another, though many, of course, are formed by different combinations of similar motives. Natural forms are scarce,



but some fragments of these can be seen at the bottom of Pl. LX; No. 16 of Pl. LVIII shews a long-beaked bird standing between what may represent a pair of palm trees or perhaps some ceremonial utensil. (Cf. Pl. LX, No. 37, with its suggestion of smoke or light, and No. 32, which also seems to represent an artificial object.)

Two methods are employed in the decoration of this ware. The simpler designs are done by direct incision on the surface of the pot. Greater variety and emphasis, however, was sometimes obtained by grooving the surface so as to leave the main elements of the pattern standing out in relief from a low background; a secondary ornament of incisions varying in strength, direction and form was then applied to the raised portions (see Nos. 16, 17, 18, 19, 24, etc., on Pl. LX). The drawings hardly convey the vigorous effect produced by this method.

#### *Undecorated Wares.*

Pl. LXI shews some examples of other early pottery, mostly without decoration. Of these, Nos. 2 and 3 are in shape essentially identical with Type I of the painted ware. Nos. 4-7, while approximating to Type II in form, shew a less developed stem and are in a hard reddish-brown ware distinct from that of the painted pottery. Examples of this type were found both in Sects. Q and W at appreciably greater depths than the painted ware.

The remaining specimens on the plate belong to a period probably anterior to the painted pottery. Nos. 8, 10, 13, 14, 16 and 21 derive from a trench dug alongside and below the foundations of the vaulted construction in Sect. BB, with which they were closely associated. Nos. 8, 13 and 14 are in plain buff ware; Nos. 10 and 16 are rougher and reddish in colour; No. 21, which, like No. 13, originally had a handle, is decorated with a polished cream slip.

No. 20 is the only reconstructible example found of an early ware generally distinguished by a fine dark-red slip. In this case the slip is cream coloured, but other characteristic features—the flanged rim, pierced lug handles, blunt incisions, and small protuberances spaced round the shoulder—are all paralleled on fragments of the red slip ware and leave no doubt of its identity. This ware was generally found at a greater depth than any painted sherds in the same area.

No. 26 illustrates a class of crude *unbaked* bowls found at low levels on various parts of the site: a better made but closely associated type



is that represented by Nos. 27 and 29. Often appearing in clusters, and generally inverted, the use of these bowls was clearly of a ritual or sacrificial character and extended over a long period ending perhaps in that of the painted ware.

# EXPLANATORY NOTE TO PLATES LII-LVII

## Plate LII

1. White ware, pale blue glaze.
2. Green-blue glaze.
3. Buff; glaze worn off, leaving only traces of yellowish deposit on surface.
4. White ware, pale blue glaze.
5. Cream ware, blue glaze becoming yellowish green near base.
6. Cream ware, pale blue glaze.
7. Thick and uneven pale blue glaze on white ware.
8. Pale blue-green glaze.
9. Pale blue glaze, porous, matt surface. Handle missing.
10. Pale blue glaze on white ware. Handle and upper part of pot missing. Bust in relief at base of handle.
11. Pale blue-green glaze.
12. Green glaze on outside, greenish white glaze on inside with yellow lines reserved on underlying slip below glaze, four bosses alternating with raised vertical ribs on outer surface.
13. White ware, pale blue porous glaze. Mouth missing.
14. Green glaze inside and outside except for lower part of vessel. Buff ware.
15. Buff ware, dark green, brown and white mottled glaze inside and over rim.
16. Fragment, brown-buff ware. Tip of an impressed Roman letter on bottom.
17. Fragment, buff ware. Traces of red wash.
18. Similar to 16.
19. Greenish-white glaze with yellow incised lines below.
20. Fragment, resembles 16.
21. Brown buff.
22. White ware, grey glaze with dark blue pattern. Glaze over most of outer surface excluding the base.

## Plate LIII

1. Pale buff, light red paint.
2. Greenish white ware, dark purple-brown paint.
3. Buff, light red-brown paint.
4. Buff, dark purple.
5. Green, dark green paint. Fragment—other panels of design unknown.
6. Buff, dark reddish-purple paint.
7. Greenish-white, green paint. Fragment.
8. Greenish-white, purple-brown paint. Fragment.
9. Pale buff, dark brown paint.
10. Buff ware, hard with smooth finish, faint red paint and band of shallow incisions. False spout.
11. Buff, dark brown paint. Incomplete.
12. Greenish-white, light greenish-brown paint. Fragment.
13. Greenish-white, dark green paint.
14. Greenish-white, dark green paint. Fragment—other panels unknown.
15. Fine buff ware, dark red paint.

## Plate LIV

1. Greenish-white, dark green paint, flakey.
2. White, dark purple paint. Fragment, remaining panels unknown : repeat of herring-bone design on rim is uncertain.
3. Greenish-white, green-brown paint.
4. White, red-brown paint. Bottom of foot conjectural.
5. Buff with white grits, dark purple paint. Incomplete.
6. Similar to 4.
7. Buff, dark brown-red paint. Fragment.
8. Buff, red-brown paint on white surface. Foot missing.
9. Purple-brown on white surface. Foot missing.

## Plate LV

1. Greenish-white, purple paint, four vertically pierced lugs at shoulder.
2. Cream ware, dark purple. Neck lost.
3. White ware, green-drab paint, four pierced lugs. Neck missing.
4. Flakey greyish ware, discoloured by fire, incised ornament, two lug handles with double perforation.

5. Engraved design, flakey ware discoloured by fire, four perforations at shoulder, also in the foot. Fragments.
6. Cream, dark purple, four perforated lugs. Mouth missing.
7. Greenish-cream, purple-brown paint, four lugs.
8. Greenish-cream, dark paint, four pierced lugs unevenly spaced round shoulder.
9. Pinkish-buff, smooth surface, dark red-brown paint, two perforated lugs. Mouth missing.

#### Plate LVI

1. White ware, dark purple paint. Stem missing.
2. Fragment of heavy bowl, minimum thickness  $\frac{1}{2}$ ", dark purple paint, pale buff ware.
3. Dark buff ware. Fragments. Dark purple paint. The springing of a stem with decoration similar to No. 5 (cf. also No. 1) is visible at one point.
4. Fragment of bowl resembling No. 2.
5. Solid pillar base, two horizontal slits through the axis.
6. Fragments. Pale buff with dark purple paint.
7. Resembles No. 2.

#### Plate LVII

1. Buff ware, red paint. Mouth missing.
2. Buff ware, red paint.
3. Buff ware, dark purple paint discoloured by burning. Mouth and foot missing.
- 4 and 10. Dark red paint, buff ware.
5. Greenish-cream ware. Fragments. Dark greenish-brown paint on cream surface. The upper part of the neck is missing. It is not certain whether the foot drawn belongs to this or to another similar pot.
6. White ware, dark greenish-brown paint tending to flake away. Foot missing.
7. Green-white ware, green-drab paint on white surface. Neck and foot conjectural.
8. Coarse buff ware, brown paint on yellow surface.
9. Cream ware, dark red paint. Foot and neck missing.

## DESCRIPTION OF PLATES LXIII-LXVIII

Pl. LXIII. 1. Cylinder seal of white stone; visit of vampire to sleeping man; two horses (?) and a knife. Early.

On an early bowl from Moussian, portrayed by Gautier and Lampre (*Délég. en Perse*, VIII, 136, fig. 266), is a recumbent man having intercourse with a headless figure with its legs apart. There is little doubt that this is the visit of a vampire to a man, the idea being, as is well known (see my *Semitic Magic*, 65), that primitive man associates nocturnal emission with such a ghostly visitant, who may even bear him children. In order to avoid recurrence of this he paints the scene on the bowl from which he drinks, shewing the vampire with her head cut off, thus threatening her. The idea of success by such magic appears on such seals as No. 10, where the hunter portrays his success, and carries the seal with him as an amulet for good fortune in the chase.

A later and more elaborate instance of the vampire will be found on seals (see Toscanne, *Revue d'Assyriologie*, 1909, 61), the incident being properly explained by Albright (*Journ. of the Amer. Or. Soc.*, 40, 326) ('these creatures are ghouls, the Babylonian *ardât lîlî*').

2. Susian: inscribed (1) . . . *ma* (?) *tur* (2) . . . *zi-ka* (3) . . . *u* ' . . . —*ma* (?), son of . . . *zika* . . . *u*.' Perhaps captured in one of the Elamite campaigns, 7th century.
3. Worshipper led before goddess.
4. Stamp on clay: Parthian period (?).
5. Assyrian seal-impression on clay: c. 7th century.
6. Impression of beak-faced men on clay (see note to p. 59).
7. H potter's stamp on Romano-Parthian pot-base (see p. 82).
8. Potter's mark, 13th century A.D. (?).
9. Seal: horse with moon, Venus (?) and Pleiades.
10. Seal cylinder: hunter with bow and arrow, wearing high boots with upturned toes: ibex, stag, lions and hunting dogs.
- 11-14, 17, 20. Early seal cylinders, Vth prehistoric period, c. 3000 B.C.
15. Incised plaque: seated figure. Found at F, 15, an indication of fairly early date, but uncertain.
- 16, 18. Potter's stamps.
19. Carnelian signet ring with long-horned animal: Romano-Parthian period.
23. Inscription in relief in Arabic characters round bowl.

24. Cylinder seal of frit : Marduk and Tiamat.

Pl. LXIV. Nos. 1, 5, 6. Assyrian period alabasters.

No. 2. Probably prehistoric (period V); No. 4, Egyptian (?) head in alabaster. No. 3, beautifully carved bull's head. No. 7 (from OO, 6), a lion's head.

Pl. LXV. Various.

The iron arrowheads, from a depth 0 to -7, must all be of late date, probably Romano-Parthian. No. 12 is a very late iron lamp from JJ 4, a.

Pl. LXVI. Nos. 1-12, post (?) -Assyrian bone points, of a type very common at Nineveh (see Petrie, *Gerar*, 16; Macalister, *Gezer*, II, 274): they may perhaps have been used for netting (see Petrie, *l.c.*) or writing on wax; Nos. 13, 15-28, bone implements of various periods; No. 33, a beautiful silver ring with a figure in gold, Romano-Parthian period, according to depth and provenance (some few feet above Assyrian level near Sennacherib's palace).

Pl. LXVII. Figurines.

The animals appear to be of all periods: for instance, No. 21, Q, 9, is of prehistoric make, painted with red; No. 9 is of blue glaze, and late; No. 1 is definitely Assyrian; Nos. 18, 19, 23, 24, 27, Romano-Parthian; No. 25 is early Assyrian.

Pl. LXVIII. Figurines.

Nos. 13, 19, Assyrian; No. 23, uncertain; No. 1, obscene group; Nos. 21-22, probably late. The remainder are all, or nearly all, Romano-Parthian.

#### TEXTS FROM ZIGĀTĪ AND RIMS OF BOWLS

A. *Shalmaneser I*, c. 1280 B.C.

(1) No. 170 (Pl. LXXVII): S. 2125 (King, *Records of the Reign of Tukulti-Ninib*, 133); Rm. ii, 606 (*ib.* 135).

(1) *m ilu Šulmānu (ma-nu) -ašarid* (2) *ša-ak-ni ilu Bēl šangī Aš-šur šarru dan-nu* (3) *šar kiššat niše pī u-tul ab-ra-ti pa-ki-id* (4) *ešrēti ba-it ilāni pī ša-di-i ilu Enlil ka-ši-id mul-tar-ḫi* (5) *mu-š[ik-n]i-šu na-kaḫ hur-ša-ni ša a-na ši-id-di na-as-ku-ti umman Ku-ti-i* (6) *u-n[a-i-lu ki]-i šu-u-bi ka-ši-id Lu-ul-lu-mi-i u Šu-ba-ri-i da-iš mātāti ia-bi* (7) *e-liš u š[ap-liš apil Adad-ni]rari ša-ak-ni ilu Bēl šangī Aš-šur apil Arik-dēn-ilu ša-ak-ni ilu Bēl šangī Aš-šur-ma E-nu-ma* (8) *bīt ilu Ištar bēlit alu Ni-n[a]-a bēlti-ia*

dûri u . . . -bi e-na-hu-ma iḫ-tab-tu si-ḫur-ra-te ša-a-ti (9) iṣ-tu uš-še-e-[š]u  
 a-di ga]b-dib-bi e-pu-uš-ma . . . . . lib(?) -be . . . . . ilu Ištar bêl-ti-ia  
 an-šu-su-nu u-ni-kir ma-aḫ-te iṣ-tu (10) [uš-še-šu adi gab-dib-bi-šu]  
 e-pu-uš na-ri-ia u ti-me-ni-ia aš-ku-un (11) . . . [rubû arkû ša a-na aš-ri-  
 šu-na u-tir-šu-nu ilu Ištar ikrîbi-šu] i-še-me mu-ni-kir ši-it-ri-ia u šu-mi-ia  
 (12) [ilu Adad i-na birḫi limutti] mât-su li-ib-ri-iḫ a-na mâtî-šu ḫu-ša-ḫi<sup>1</sup>  
 [iḫ-di].

(1) Shalmaneser, (2) prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur, the powerful king, (3) king of multitudes of men, shepherd of walled enclosures, who careth for (4) the shrine(s), desired of the gods, the mountain Enlil: overcoming the truculent, (5) subduing all mountains, who hath subjugated the forces of the Kuṭî unto remote regions (6) like šâbi; conquering the Lullumî and Shubarî, trampling on the lands of the foe (7) above and [below: son of Adad-ni]rari, prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur; son of Airk-dên-ilu, prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur, also. When (8) the Temple of Ishtar, the lady of Nineveh, my lady, the wall and . . . fell to ruins and were destroyed, that temple-tower (9) from [its] foundations [to] its roof I built and . . . Ishtar, my lady, their weak parts I removed, the ruins from [its foundations to its roof] (10) I built. My stone tablet and my cylinder I put, . . . (11) [The later prince who restoreth them to their place, Ishtar] shall hear [his prayers]. (But) he who removeth my inscription and my name (12) [may Adad] blast his land [with a destructive bolt] (and) [bring] famine to his land!

(2) Nos. 92, 94 (Pl. LXXI), 100 (Pl. LXXII), 106 (Pl. LXXIII), 251, 252, 256 (Pl. LXXX). B.M. 56-9-99, 164 (King, *Records*, 126); 181 (*ib.*, 127); 187 (*ib.*, 128): cf. S. 2115 (*ib.*, 129). For a first translation, see G. Smith, *Assyr. Disc.*, 248.<sup>2</sup>

(1) m ilu Šulmānu(ma-nu)-ašarid ša-ak-ni ilu Bêl šangî A-šur šarru dan-nu šar [kiššati šar mātu] ilu A-šur (2) [mâr ilu Adad]nirari šar mātu ilu A-šur mâr Arik-dên-ilu šar mātu ilu A-šur-ma (3) ka-ši-[iḫ] Šu-ba-ri-i Lu-ul-lu-mi-i u Ku-ti-i mu-še-ik-ni-iš mātu Mu-uš-ri ša i-na tukulti [ilu I]š-tar bêl-ti-šu it-[ta-la]k-ma (4) tap-du za-e-ri-šu i-na ki-rib<sup>1</sup> ta-ḫa-zi il-ta-ka-a[n-ma kal]-šu i-na-ru-ma . . . sa<sup>2</sup> . . . -gi(?) -šu-nu<sup>3</sup> . . . ma-lu-te . . . a-na šêp ilu Ištar bêl-ti-šu u-še-ik-ni-i[š] (5) E-nu-ma bît ilu Ištar

1. Probably transliterate, the last line of 170 thus.

2. <sup>1</sup> 92, ri-i[ḫ]. <sup>2</sup> *Records*, p. 169, l. 2. <sup>3</sup> 92 mal (?), ni (?), or is it sa ? <sup>4</sup> From K.A.H., II, 42, 6. <sup>5</sup> 252, 256 and *Records*, p. 169, be. <sup>6</sup> *Records*, 169, š. Perhaps restore remainder from this fragment.



*bēlit alu Ni-na-a bēlti-ia e-na-[aḥ ša i-na]<sup>4</sup> pa-na m ilu Šamši(šì)- ilu Adad*  
 (6) *e-pu-šu arki-šu m ilu A-šur-uballiṭ a-[b]i ud-di-šu bitu šu-u i-na ri-i-bi<sup>5</sup>*  
*a-na si-ḫir-ti-šu [e-na-aḥ] (7) . . . an-ša-ti-šu ak-sir u ma-aḫ-ta iš-tu*  
*uš-še<sup>6</sup>-šu a-d[i gab-dib-bi-šu e-pu-uš tak na-ri-e] u ti-me-ni ša m ilu A-*  
*šur-uballiṭ . . . (8) . . . [ud]-di-iš a-na aš-ri-šu-nu-ma . . . u . . . (9) . . .*  
*[š]a-šu ki-ma a-na-ku ma-ti-[ma] . . . (10) [a-na aš-ri-šu-nu u-t]ir ilu Ištār*  
*ik-ri-bi-[šū i-še-me] . . . (11) . . . u[m-šu u . . . (12) . . . ḫi . . .*

(1) Shalmaneser, prefect of Bēl, priest of Ashur, the powerful king, king [of multitudes, king of] Assyria (2) [son of Adad]-nirari, king of Assyria, son of Arik-dēn-ilu, king of Assyria, also : (3) conqueror of the Shubari, Lullumî and Kutî, subduer of Mušri, who walketh by the help of Ishtar, his lady, and (4) the defeat of his foes in battle hath accomplished [and] hath destroyed [all] of them ; . . . hath subjugated to the feet of Ishtar, his lady. (5) When the Temple of Ishtar, the lady of Nineveh, my lady, fell in ruins [which] aforetime Shamshi-Adad (6) had built (and) after him Ashur-uballit, my father, had restored : that temple [was ruined] throughout by an earthquake (7) . . . its weaknesses I bonded and (its) fallen part from its foundation to [its roof I built : the stone tablet] and cylinders of Ashur-uballit. [I restored] (8) anew to their places . . . (9) . . . as I myself aforetime [have done, so may some future prince] (10) restore [mine to their places :] Ishtar [his] prayer [shall hear] . . .

(3) Rims, Pl. LXXVIII, 184-193, 198-200, 211, 216 (but possible difference in 193).

*m ilu Šulmanu(ma-nu)-ašarid šakin<sup>1</sup> ilu Bēl šangî ilu A-šur mu-di-iš*  
**E-MAŠ. MAŠ** *bi ilu Ištār bēlti-šu i-na alu Ni-na-a.*

Shalmaneser, prefect of Bēl, priest of Ashur, who hath renewed E-Mashmash, the Temple of Ishtar, his lady, in Nineveh.

B. *Ashur-rîsh-ishi*, c. 1120 B.C.

(1) Nos. 83, 84 (Pl. LXXI), 104, 112, 113 (Pl. LXXIII), 130, 134 (Pl. LXXIV), 138-143, 146 (Pl. LXXV), 161 (Pl. LXXVI) (cf. 225, LXXIX), 254 (Pl. LXXX), 264 (Pl. LXXXII) : with restorations from rims Nos. 194-196, 201-207, 212, 215 (Pl. LXXVIII) ; nine fragments of the B.M. Coll. 56-9-9 (King, *Annals*, 17, with important variants given). Note that the rims, although apparently restoring the *namiru* in full, do not include the full preamble : e.g. No. 194, which gives the titles only of Ashur-rîsh-ishi, his father and grandfather, beginning then

1. 211, *ša-ak-[ni]*.

with *Enuma*. No. 225, probably also to be referred here, is also different.

(1) <sup>1</sup> *m*Aš-šur-riš-i-ši ša<sup>1</sup> ak-ni <sup>2</sup> *ilu* Bēl <sup>3</sup> šangī Aš-šur (2) ša <sup>4</sup> *ilu* A-nu <sup>5</sup> *ilu* Bēl u <sup>6</sup> *ilu* Ea ilāni <sup>7</sup> *pl* rabūti <sup>8</sup> *pl* i-na libbi rapši šim(?) -šu ki-niš iḫ-šu-ḫu-šu-ma (3) <sup>9</sup> a-na šu-te-šur mānu Aš-šur bēlu-su ib-bu-u u na-dan zi-be-šu ilāni <sup>10</sup> *pl* ša šamē(e) u iršiti(ti) (4) [i]-ra-mu-ma ikrubu šangū-su rubū na<sup>11</sup> -<sup>12</sup> du za-nin nindabī ana <sup>13</sup> *ilāni* <sup>14</sup> *pl* rabūti <sup>15</sup> *pl* ir-šu ši-i-ru kar-rad par(?) -ri(?) . . . (5) . . . <sup>16</sup> *ilu* <sup>17</sup> Ir-ni-na <sup>18</sup> ša-giš mul-tar-ḫi<sup>19</sup> <sup>20</sup> ur-ša-an ḫabli<sup>21</sup> <sup>22</sup> la pa-du-u <sup>23</sup> da-iš<sup>24</sup> <sup>25</sup> na-ki-ru-ut Aš-šur rab-bu dan-nu mu-la-iṭ la ma-gi-ri mu-šab-[bi(?)]-iṭ la ka-ni-še (6) <sup>26</sup> <sup>27</sup> <sup>28</sup> <sup>29</sup> <sup>30</sup> <sup>31</sup> <sup>32</sup> <sup>33</sup> <sup>34</sup> <sup>35</sup> <sup>36</sup> <sup>37</sup> <sup>38</sup> <sup>39</sup> <sup>40</sup> <sup>41</sup> <sup>42</sup> <sup>43</sup> <sup>44</sup> <sup>45</sup> <sup>46</sup> <sup>47</sup> <sup>48</sup> <sup>49</sup> <sup>50</sup> <sup>51</sup> <sup>52</sup> <sup>53</sup> <sup>54</sup> <sup>55</sup> <sup>56</sup> <sup>57</sup> <sup>58</sup> <sup>59</sup> <sup>60</sup> <sup>61</sup> <sup>62</sup> <sup>63</sup> <sup>64</sup> <sup>65</sup> <sup>66</sup> <sup>67</sup> <sup>68</sup> <sup>69</sup> <sup>70</sup> <sup>71</sup> <sup>72</sup> <sup>73</sup> <sup>74</sup> <sup>75</sup> <sup>76</sup> <sup>77</sup> <sup>78</sup> <sup>79</sup> <sup>80</sup> <sup>81</sup> <sup>82</sup> <sup>83</sup> <sup>84</sup> <sup>85</sup> <sup>86</sup> <sup>87</sup> <sup>88</sup> <sup>89</sup> <sup>90</sup> <sup>91</sup> <sup>92</sup> <sup>93</sup> <sup>94</sup> <sup>95</sup> <sup>96</sup> <sup>97</sup> <sup>98</sup> <sup>99</sup> <sup>100</sup> <sup>101</sup> <sup>102</sup> <sup>103</sup> <sup>104</sup> <sup>105</sup> <sup>106</sup> <sup>107</sup> <sup>108</sup> <sup>109</sup> <sup>110</sup> <sup>111</sup> <sup>112</sup> <sup>113</sup> <sup>114</sup> <sup>115</sup> <sup>116</sup> <sup>117</sup> <sup>118</sup> <sup>119</sup> <sup>120</sup> <sup>121</sup> <sup>122</sup> <sup>123</sup> <sup>124</sup> <sup>125</sup> <sup>126</sup> <sup>127</sup> <sup>128</sup> <sup>129</sup> <sup>130</sup> <sup>131</sup> <sup>132</sup> <sup>133</sup> <sup>134</sup> <sup>135</sup> <sup>136</sup> <sup>137</sup> <sup>138</sup> <sup>139</sup> <sup>140</sup> <sup>141</sup> <sup>142</sup> <sup>143</sup> <sup>144</sup> <sup>145</sup> <sup>146</sup> <sup>147</sup> <sup>148</sup> <sup>149</sup> <sup>150</sup> <sup>151</sup> <sup>152</sup> <sup>153</sup> <sup>154</sup> <sup>155</sup> <sup>156</sup> <sup>157</sup> <sup>158</sup> <sup>159</sup> <sup>160</sup> <sup>161</sup> <sup>162</sup> <sup>163</sup> <sup>164</sup> <sup>165</sup> <sup>166</sup> <sup>167</sup> <sup>168</sup> <sup>169</sup> <sup>170</sup> <sup>171</sup> <sup>172</sup> <sup>173</sup> <sup>174</sup> <sup>175</sup> <sup>176</sup> <sup>177</sup> <sup>178</sup> <sup>179</sup> <sup>180</sup> <sup>181</sup> <sup>182</sup> <sup>183</sup> <sup>184</sup> <sup>185</sup> <sup>186</sup> <sup>187</sup> <sup>188</sup> <sup>189</sup> <sup>190</sup> <sup>191</sup> <sup>192</sup> <sup>193</sup> <sup>194</sup> <sup>195</sup> <sup>196</sup> <sup>197</sup> <sup>198</sup> <sup>199</sup> <sup>200</sup> <sup>201</sup> <sup>202</sup> <sup>203</sup> <sup>204</sup> <sup>205</sup> <sup>206</sup> <sup>207</sup> <sup>208</sup> <sup>209</sup> <sup>210</sup> <sup>211</sup> <sup>212</sup> <sup>213</sup> <sup>214</sup> <sup>215</sup> <sup>216</sup> <sup>217</sup> <sup>218</sup> <sup>219</sup> <sup>220</sup> <sup>221</sup> <sup>222</sup> <sup>223</sup> <sup>224</sup> <sup>225</sup> <sup>226</sup> <sup>227</sup> <sup>228</sup> <sup>229</sup> <sup>230</sup> <sup>231</sup> <sup>232</sup> <sup>233</sup> <sup>234</sup> <sup>235</sup> <sup>236</sup> <sup>237</sup> <sup>238</sup> <sup>239</sup> <sup>240</sup> <sup>241</sup> <sup>242</sup> <sup>243</sup> <sup>244</sup> <sup>245</sup> <sup>246</sup> <sup>247</sup> <sup>248</sup> <sup>249</sup> <sup>250</sup> <sup>251</sup> <sup>252</sup> <sup>253</sup> <sup>254</sup> <sup>255</sup> <sup>256</sup> <sup>257</sup> <sup>258</sup> <sup>259</sup> <sup>260</sup> <sup>261</sup> <sup>262</sup> <sup>263</sup> <sup>264</sup> <sup>265</sup> <sup>266</sup> <sup>267</sup> <sup>268</sup> <sup>269</sup> <sup>270</sup> <sup>271</sup> <sup>272</sup> <sup>273</sup> <sup>274</sup> <sup>275</sup> <sup>276</sup> <sup>277</sup> <sup>278</sup> <sup>279</sup> <sup>280</sup> <sup>281</sup> <sup>282</sup> <sup>283</sup> <sup>284</sup> <sup>285</sup> <sup>286</sup> <sup>287</sup> <sup>288</sup> <sup>289</sup> <sup>290</sup> <sup>291</sup> <sup>292</sup> <sup>293</sup> <sup>294</sup> <sup>295</sup> <sup>296</sup> <sup>297</sup> <sup>298</sup> <sup>299</sup> <sup>300</sup> <sup>301</sup> <sup>302</sup> <sup>303</sup> <sup>304</sup> <sup>305</sup> <sup>306</sup> <sup>307</sup> <sup>308</sup> <sup>309</sup> <sup>310</sup> <sup>311</sup> <sup>312</sup> <sup>313</sup> <sup>314</sup> <sup>315</sup> <sup>316</sup> <sup>317</sup> <sup>318</sup> <sup>319</sup> <sup>320</sup> <sup>321</sup> <sup>322</sup> <sup>323</sup> <sup>324</sup> <sup>325</sup> <sup>326</sup> <sup>327</sup> <sup>328</sup> <sup>329</sup> <sup>330</sup> <sup>331</sup> <sup>332</sup> <sup>333</sup> <sup>334</sup> <sup>335</sup> <sup>336</sup> <sup>337</sup> <sup>338</sup> <sup>339</sup> <sup>340</sup> <sup>341</sup> <sup>342</sup> <sup>343</sup> <sup>344</sup> <sup>345</sup> <sup>346</sup> <sup>347</sup> <sup>348</sup> <sup>349</sup> <sup>350</sup> <sup>351</sup> <sup>352</sup> <sup>353</sup> <sup>354</sup> <sup>355</sup> <sup>356</sup> <sup>357</sup> <sup>358</sup> <sup>359</sup> <sup>360</sup> <sup>361</sup> <sup>362</sup> <sup>363</sup> <sup>364</sup> <sup>365</sup> <sup>366</sup> <sup>367</sup> <sup>368</sup> <sup>369</sup> <sup>370</sup> <sup>371</sup> <sup>372</sup> <sup>373</sup> <sup>374</sup> <sup>375</sup> <sup>376</sup> <sup>377</sup> <sup>378</sup> <sup>379</sup> <sup>380</sup> <sup>381</sup> <sup>382</sup> <sup>383</sup> <sup>384</sup> <sup>385</sup> <sup>386</sup> <sup>387</sup> <sup>388</sup> <sup>389</sup> <sup>390</sup> <sup>391</sup> <sup>392</sup> <sup>393</sup> <sup>394</sup> <sup>395</sup> <sup>396</sup> <sup>397</sup> <sup>398</sup> <sup>399</sup> <sup>400</sup> <sup>401</sup> <sup>402</sup> <sup>403</sup> <sup>404</sup> <sup>405</sup> <sup>406</sup> <sup>407</sup> 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<sup>474</sup> <sup>475</sup> <sup>476</sup> <sup>477</sup> <sup>478</sup> <sup>479</sup> <sup>480</sup> <sup>481</sup> <sup>482</sup> <sup>483</sup> <sup>484</sup> <sup>485</sup> <sup>486</sup> <sup>487</sup> <sup>488</sup> <sup>489</sup> <sup>490</sup> <sup>491</sup> <sup>492</sup> <sup>493</sup> <sup>494</sup> <sup>495</sup> <sup>496</sup> <sup>497</sup> <sup>498</sup> <sup>499</sup> <sup>500</sup> <sup>501</sup> <sup>502</sup> <sup>503</sup> <sup>504</sup> <sup>505</sup> <sup>506</sup> <sup>507</sup> <sup>508</sup> <sup>509</sup> <sup>510</sup> <sup>511</sup> <sup>512</sup> <sup>513</sup> <sup>514</sup> <sup>515</sup> <sup>516</sup> <sup>517</sup> <sup>518</sup> <sup>519</sup> <sup>520</sup> <sup>521</sup> <sup>522</sup> <sup>523</sup> <sup>524</sup> <sup>525</sup> <sup>526</sup> <sup>527</sup> <sup>528</sup> <sup>529</sup> <sup>530</sup> <sup>531</sup> <sup>532</sup> <sup>533</sup> <sup>534</sup> <sup>535</sup> <sup>536</sup> <sup>537</sup> <sup>538</sup> <sup>539</sup> <sup>540</sup> <sup>541</sup> <sup>542</sup> <sup>543</sup> <sup>544</sup> <sup>545</sup> <sup>546</sup> <sup>547</sup> <sup>548</sup> <sup>549</sup> <sup>550</sup> <sup>551</sup> <sup>552</sup> <sup>553</sup> <sup>554</sup> <sup>555</sup> <sup>556</sup> <sup>557</sup> <sup>558</sup> <sup>559</sup> <sup>560</sup> <sup>561</sup> <sup>562</sup> <sup>563</sup> <sup>564</sup> <sup>565</sup> <sup>566</sup> <sup>567</sup> <sup>568</sup> <sup>569</sup> <sup>570</sup> <sup>571</sup> <sup>572</sup> <sup>573</sup> <sup>574</sup> <sup>575</sup> <sup>576</sup> <sup>577</sup> <sup>578</sup> <sup>579</sup> <sup>580</sup> <sup>581</sup> <sup>582</sup> <sup>583</sup> <sup>584</sup> <sup>585</sup> <sup>586</sup> <sup>587</sup> <sup>588</sup> <sup>589</sup> <sup>590</sup> <sup>591</sup> <sup>592</sup> <sup>593</sup> <sup>594</sup> <sup>595</sup> <sup>596</sup> <sup>597</sup> <sup>598</sup> <sup>599</sup> <sup>600</sup> <sup>601</sup> <sup>602</sup> <sup>603</sup> <sup>604</sup> <sup>605</sup> <sup>606</sup> <sup>607</sup> <sup>608</sup> <sup>609</sup> <sup>610</sup> <sup>611</sup> <sup>612</sup> <sup>613</sup> <sup>614</sup> <sup>615</sup> <sup>616</sup> <sup>617</sup> <sup>618</sup> <sup>619</sup> <sup>620</sup> <sup>621</sup> <sup>622</sup> <sup>623</sup> <sup>624</sup> <sup>625</sup> <sup>626</sup> <sup>627</sup> <sup>628</sup> <sup>629</sup> <sup>630</sup> <sup>631</sup> <sup>632</sup> <sup>633</sup> <sup>634</sup> <sup>635</sup> <sup>636</sup> <sup>637</sup> <sup>638</sup> <sup>639</sup> <sup>640</sup> <sup>641</sup> <sup>642</sup> <sup>643</sup> <sup>644</sup> <sup>645</sup> <sup>646</sup> <sup>647</sup> <sup>648</sup> <sup>649</sup> <sup>650</sup> <sup>651</sup> <sup>652</sup> <sup>653</sup> <sup>654</sup> <sup>655</sup> <sup>656</sup> <sup>657</sup> <sup>658</sup> <sup>659</sup> <sup>660</sup> <sup>661</sup> <sup>662</sup> <sup>663</sup> <sup>664</sup> <sup>665</sup> <sup>666</sup> <sup>667</sup> <sup>668</sup> <sup>669</sup> <sup>670</sup> <sup>671</sup> <sup>672</sup> <sup>673</sup> <sup>674</sup> <sup>675</sup> <sup>676</sup> <sup>677</sup> <sup>678</sup> <sup>679</sup> <sup>680</sup> <sup>681</sup> <sup>682</sup> <sup>683</sup> <sup>684</sup> <sup>685</sup> <sup>686</sup> <sup>687</sup> <sup>688</sup> <sup>689</sup> <sup>690</sup> <sup>691</sup> <sup>692</sup> <sup>693</sup> <sup>694</sup> <sup>695</sup> <sup>696</sup> <sup>697</sup> <sup>698</sup> <sup>699</sup> <sup>700</sup> <sup>701</sup> <sup>702</sup> <sup>703</sup> <sup>704</sup> <sup>705</sup> <sup>706</sup> <sup>707</sup> <sup>708</sup> <sup>709</sup> <sup>710</sup> <sup>711</sup> <sup>712</sup> <sup>713</sup> <sup>714</sup> <sup>715</sup> <sup>716</sup> <sup>717</sup> <sup>718</sup> <sup>719</sup> <sup>720</sup> <sup>721</sup> <sup>722</sup> <sup>723</sup> <sup>724</sup> <sup>725</sup> <sup>726</sup> <sup>727</sup> <sup>728</sup> <sup>729</sup> <sup>730</sup> <sup>731</sup> <sup>732</sup> <sup>733</sup> <sup>734</sup> <sup>735</sup> <sup>736</sup> <sup>737</sup> <sup>738</sup> <sup>739</sup> <sup>740</sup> <sup>741</sup> <sup>742</sup> <sup>743</sup> <sup>744</sup> <sup>745</sup> <sup>746</sup> <sup>747</sup> <sup>748</sup> <sup>749</sup> <sup>750</sup> <sup>751</sup> <sup>752</sup> <sup>753</sup> <sup>754</sup> <sup>755</sup> <sup>756</sup> <sup>757</sup> <sup>758</sup> <sup>759</sup> <sup>760</sup> <sup>761</sup> <sup>762</sup> <sup>763</sup> <sup>764</sup> <sup>765</sup> <sup>766</sup> <sup>767</sup> <sup>768</sup> <sup>769</sup> <sup>770</sup> <sup>771</sup> <sup>772</sup> <sup>773</sup> <sup>774</sup> <sup>775</sup> <sup>776</sup> <sup>777</sup> <sup>778</sup> <sup>779</sup> <sup>780</sup> <sup>781</sup> <sup>782</sup> <sup>783</sup> <sup>784</sup> <sup>785</sup> <sup>786</sup> <sup>787</sup> <sup>788</sup> <sup>789</sup> <sup>790</sup> <sup>791</sup> <sup>792</sup> <sup>793</sup> <sup>794</sup> <sup>795</sup> <sup>796</sup> <sup>797</sup> <sup>798</sup> <sup>799</sup> <sup>800</sup> <sup>801</sup> <sup>802</sup> <sup>803</sup> <sup>804</sup> <sup>805</sup> <sup>806</sup> <sup>807</sup> <sup>808</sup> <sup>809</sup> <sup>810</sup> <sup>811</sup> <sup>812</sup> <sup>813</sup> <sup>814</sup> <sup>815</sup> <sup>816</sup> <sup>817</sup> <sup>818</sup> <sup>819</sup> <sup>820</sup> <sup>821</sup> <sup>822</sup> <sup>823</sup> <sup>824</sup> <sup>825</sup> <sup>826</sup> <sup>827</sup> <sup>828</sup> <sup>829</sup> <sup>830</sup> <sup>831</sup> <sup>832</sup> <sup>833</sup> <sup>834</sup> <sup>835</sup> <sup>836</sup> <sup>837</sup> <sup>838</sup> <sup>839</sup> <sup>840</sup> <sup>841</sup> <sup>842</sup> <sup>843</sup> <sup>844</sup> <sup>845</sup> <sup>846</sup> <sup>847</sup> <sup>848</sup> <sup>849</sup> <sup>850</sup> <sup>851</sup> <sup>852</sup> <sup>853</sup> <sup>854</sup> <sup>855</sup> <sup>856</sup> <sup>857</sup> <sup>858</sup> <sup>859</sup> <sup>860</sup> <sup>861</sup> <sup>862</sup> <sup>863</sup> <sup>864</sup> <sup>865</sup> <sup>866</sup> <sup>867</sup> <sup>868</sup> <sup>869</sup> <sup>870</sup> <sup>871</sup> <sup>872</sup> <sup>873</sup> <sup>874</sup> <sup>875</sup> <sup>876</sup> <sup>877</sup> <sup>878</sup> <sup>879</sup> <sup>880</sup> <sup>881</sup> <sup>882</sup> <sup>883</sup> <sup>884</sup> <sup>885</sup> <sup>886</sup> <sup>887</sup> <sup>888</sup> <sup>889</sup> <sup>890</sup> <sup>891</sup> <sup>892</sup> <sup>893</sup> <sup>894</sup> <sup>895</sup> <sup>896</sup> <sup>897</sup> <sup>898</sup> <sup>899</sup> <sup>900</sup> <sup>901</sup> <sup>902</sup> <sup>903</sup> <sup>904</sup> <sup>905</sup> <sup>906</sup> <sup>907</sup> <sup>908</sup> <sup>909</sup> <sup>910</sup> <sup>911</sup> <sup>912</sup> <sup>913</sup> <sup>914</sup> <sup>915</sup> <sup>916</sup> <sup>917</sup> <sup>918</sup> <sup>919</sup> <sup>920</sup> <sup>921</sup> <sup>922</sup> <sup>923</sup> <sup>924</sup> <sup>925</sup> <sup>926</sup> <sup>927</sup> <sup>928</sup> <sup>929</sup> <sup>930</sup> <sup>931</sup> <sup>932</sup> <sup>933</sup> <sup>934</sup> <sup>935</sup> <sup>936</sup> <sup>937</sup> <sup>938</sup> <sup>939</sup> <sup>940</sup> <sup>941</sup> <sup>942</sup> <sup>943</sup> <sup>944</sup> <sup>945</sup> <sup>946</sup> <sup>947</sup> <sup>948</sup> <sup>949</sup> <sup>950</sup> <sup>951</sup> <sup>952</sup> <sup>953</sup> <sup>954</sup> <sup>955</sup> <sup>956</sup> <sup>957</sup> <sup>958</sup> <sup>959</sup> <sup>960</sup> <sup>961</sup> <sup>962</sup> <sup>963</sup> <sup>964</sup> <sup>965</sup> <sup>966</sup> <sup>967</sup> <sup>968</sup> <sup>969</sup> <sup>970</sup> <sup>971</sup> <sup>972</sup> <sup>973</sup> <sup>974</sup> <sup>975</sup> <sup>976</sup> <sup>977</sup> <sup>978</sup> <sup>979</sup> <sup>980</sup> <sup>981</sup> <sup>982</sup> <sup>983</sup> <sup>984</sup> <sup>985</sup> <sup>986</sup> <sup>987</sup> <sup>988</sup> <sup>989</sup> <sup>990</sup> <sup>991</sup> <sup>992</sup> <sup>993</sup> <sup>994</sup> <sup>995</sup> <sup>996</sup> <sup>997</sup> <sup>998</sup> <sup>999</sup> <sup>1000</sup>

(bi)-šu-nu a-di gušur bîti XV ti-ip-ki lu-aḥ-si-ip<sup>36</sup> (11) lu<sup>37</sup>-še-ri-da L<sup>38</sup>  
 ti-ip-ki<sup>39</sup> lu-ul-li XXXV<sup>40</sup> ti-ip-ki<sup>41</sup> ana<sup>41</sup> maḥ-ri-i<sup>42</sup> lu-ut-tir ia<sup>43</sup>-e-ri  
 ša abnê<sup>44</sup> lu-ul<sup>44</sup>-mi-šu-nu-ti a-na<sup>45</sup> aḥ-rat ûmê a-na ûm(um) za-a-ti<sup>46</sup>  
 e-nu-ma (12) na-mi<sup>47</sup>-ru<sup>48</sup> šu-u e-na-ḥu rubû(u) arkû(u) an-ḥu-su-nu lu<sup>49</sup>-diš  
 ia-e-ri<sup>50</sup> . . .<sup>50</sup> u<sup>51</sup> šumi šaṭ-ra<sup>51</sup> a-na aš-ri-šu<sup>52</sup> lu-tir ilu Iš-tar bêltu  
 rabîtu(tu) ikribi-šu [i-še-mi] (13) mu-ni-kir<sup>53</sup> [šit]ir šumi-ia ilu Iš-tar bêl[tu]  
 rabîtu(tu) šarru-su<sup>54</sup> u paṭê-šu<sup>54</sup> li-is<sup>55</sup> ki-ip<sup>55</sup> ešten(en) ûma(ma) la balat-su  
 [liḱ-bi].<sup>56</sup>

(1) Ashur-rîsh-ishi, prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur, (2) whose . . . (?)  
 Anu, Bêl, and Ea, the great gods, have truly desired wholeheartedly, and  
 have proclaimed his rule (3) to govern Assyria, and the giving of whose  
 offerings the gods of heaven and earth (4) love, and have blessed his  
 priesthood. The glorious prince, administering the offerings of the great  
 gods, the wise, the supreme, the warrior of . . . , (5) [the beloved (?) of]  
 Irnina, who destroyeth the mighty, the hero unyielding in battle, who  
 trampleth on the foes of Ashur, the great, the powerful, who consumeth  
 the disobedient, who chastiseth the unsubmissive, (6) . . . , who de-  
 stroyeth the forces of the widespread Aḥlamê, who shattereth their  
 armies, who by the command of Ninurta, the hero of the gods above  
 and below . . . (7) . . . lands of the e[nemy] [the conqueror of the  
 L]jullumî; (who) all the Kutî and the whole of their highlands hath over-  
 whelmed and hath brought into subjection to his feet: who holdeth a  
 sceptre of righteous[ness], . . . conquering (8) the lands of the  
 Sh[ubari ?] . . the subjects of [all] lands, the avenger of Assyria: the son  
 of Mutakkil-Nusku, the priest of Ashur, the son of Ashur-dân, also the  
 priest of Ashur. When the *namiru*<sup>1</sup> of the Great Gate of the Lions' Heads  
 of the Great Court of (9) the Temple of Ishtar [of Nineveh], my lady,  
 which aforetime in the time of Shalmaneser, the king of Assyria, was  
 ruined in an earthquake, (and) [Shalmaneser], a king who preceded me  
 had restored its ruins; (10) a second time it had been shaken in an  
 earthquake in the [time of Ashur-d]jân, [the king] of Assyria, who begot  
 my father, and those *namiri* had been unsettled and had fallen in ruin;  
 for fifteen *tipki* from the coping to the 'beam of the house' I pulled down,  
 (11) I took (it) down. I raised (it) to fifty *tipki*, increasing it by thirty-  
 five *tipki* more than before; with *iaeri* of stone I surrounded them. In

1. It will be noted that King (*Annals*, 21) is careful to shew that the first part of  
 l. 10 is from one text, and the remainder from others. I think, however, our new texts  
 allow us this full restoration.

future days, in distant ages, (12) when these *namiri* shall have fallen into decay, may some future prince restore their ruins, the *iaeri* [of stone may he replace] . . . and my name inscribed (thereon) may he restore to its place: Ishtar, the great goddess, [shall hear] his prayer. (13) (But) he who shall alter the writing of my name, may Ishtar, the great goddess, overthrow his kingdom and his sovereignty; that he live not one single day (more) [may she ordain]!

(2) No. 153 (Pl. LXXV). Probably a slightly different text of Ashur-rîsh-ishi (cf. l. 6, 'son of Mutakkil-Nusku').

C. ? (*Tiglath-Pileser I* (?), c. 1100 B.C.) (or as above ?).

No. 197 (Pl. LXXVIII).

(1) . . . -*nu rubû kar-du ašaridu* . . . (2) . . . *u-šik-ni-šu šarru dannu da-iš* (?) . . . (3) *apil Aš-šur* . . .

(1) . . . The prince, hero, first . . . (2) [who] hath subdued . . . , the powerful king trampling on (?) . . . (3) the son of Ashur-[rîsh-ishi ?] . . .

D. *Shamshi-Adad IV*, c. 1000 B.C.

Nos. 151 (Pl. LXXV), 172 (Pl. LXXVII), 257 (Pl. LXXX): *Annals*, 150.

(1) *mŠam-ši-īlu Adad šarru rabû šarru dannu šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur* (2) *mâr Tukulti-pal-E-šar-ra šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur* (3) *mâr Aš-šur-rîš-i-ši šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur-ma E-nu-ma bît na-me-ru*<sup>1</sup> . . . (4) *ša rubû(u) a-lîk pa-ni-ia [e-p]u-uš* . . . [u]-šal-[ba-ru] (5) . . . [ana si]-hîr-ti-šu *ak-še-ir tak* (?) . . . -*ka-te*<sup>2</sup> *al-tu-ur i-na* . . . (6) . . . [arbu . . .] *ûme(mē) VIII kam li-mu* . . . *mātu Aš-šur*.

Shamshi-Adad, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the king of Assyria, the son of Tiglath-Pileser, the king of multitudes, the king of Assyria, the son of Ashur-rîsh-ishi, the king of multitudes, the king of Assyria also. When the *bît nameru* [of the Temple of Ishtar ?] which some prince going before me had built . . . had grown [old] . . . throughout I improved: . . . I wrote a stone [tablet] . . . [Month ?], 8th day, eponym . . . of Assyria.

E. *Tukulti-Ninurta*, c. 890-884 B.C.

Nos. 66 (Pl. LXX), 174 (Pl. LXXVII) (a slight variation between them). For a possible longer edition, see King, *Records*, pp. 133, 134, possibly referring to a restoration of Ishtar.

1. 151, *mi-ri*.

2. *Annals* add *pl*. King supplies [ana *ûme pî a*] *ka-te*.

- (1) *Tukulti-ilu Ninurta šarru rabû* (2) [*šarru dan*]-*ni šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur* (3) [*mâr Adad*]-*nirari (šarru rabû)* . . *šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur* (4) [*mâr Aššur*]-*dân (šarru rabû)* . . *šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur-ma*.

Tukulti-Ninurta, the great king, [the power]ful [king], king of multitudes, king of Assyria, [son of Adad]-nirari, (the great king) . . , king of multitudes, king of Assyria, [son of Ashur]-dan (the great king) . . king of multitudes, king of Assyria also.

F. *Ashur-našir-pal*, c. 883-859 B.C.

(1) Simple, with simple variants (cf. *Annals*, 156, and *Arch.*, 134).

Nos. 5-18, 20-30, 32-38, 40 (Pl. LXIX), 41-44, 52, 58, 59, 62, 63, 65, 66, 70 (Pl. LXX), 71, 73, 74, 76, 82 (Pl. LXXI), 133, 133A (Pl. LXXIV), 169, 169B (Pl. LXXVI), 240, 241, 243 (?), 244 (?), 246, 248 (?), 249 (?), 250, 255 (?) (Pl. LXXX).

*m*Aš-šur-našir-apli <sup>1</sup> šakin ilu Bêl šangi Aš-šur šarru rabû šarru dan-nu<sup>1</sup> šar kiššati šar mātu Aš(-)šur apil Tukulti<sup>2</sup>-Ninurta <sup>3</sup>šakin [ilu Bêl šangi Aš-šur]<sup>3</sup> <sup>4</sup>šarru rabû šarru dan-nu<sup>4</sup> šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur apil Adad-nirari <sup>5</sup>šakin ilu Bêl šangi [Aššur]<sup>5</sup> <sup>6</sup>šarru rabû šarru dan-nu<sup>6</sup> šar kiššati šar Aššuri-ma.

Ashur-našir-pal, prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur, the great king, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria; son of Tukulti-Ninurta, prefect of [Bêl, priest of Ashur], the great king, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria: son of Adad-nirari, prefect of Bêl, priest of [Ashur], the great king, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria.

(2) 'Property of the Temple of Ishtar' (*Ashur-našir-pal*) (cf. the 'hands,' *A.A.A.*, 99).

Nos. 1-4, and cf. 31 (Pl. LXIX), 48, 49, 57, 67 (Pl. LXX), 224 (Pl. LXXIX), 238 (?), 239 (?), 245 (?) (Pl. LXXX).

*m*Aš-šur-našir-apli šakin ilu Bêl ša[ngi ilu Aššur] . . . apil Tukulti-Ninurta šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mātu Aššuri apil Adad-nirari . . . bušî bêt ilu Ištar ša alu Ni-na-a.

(Translation as (1), with the addition of 'property of the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh.')

Variants:—<sup>1</sup> 20 omits.  
<sup>5</sup> 10, 16, 17, and 22 omit.

<sup>2</sup> 6 [*Tukulti*] (ti).  
<sup>6</sup> 10 and 22 omit.

<sup>3</sup> 16 and 20 omit.

<sup>4</sup> 20 omits.



(3) *The Restoration of the Temple of Ishtar* (Ashur-našir-pal) (cf. King, *Annals*, 156).

Nos. 19 (?), and cf. 39 (Pl. LXIX), 45-47, 50-51, 53-55 (?), 56, 60, 61, 64, 69 (Pl. LXX), 72, 75, 77-81 (79 (?), Pl. LXXI), 176 (Pl. LXXVII), 231 (Pl. LXXIX), 258 (?), 259 (Pl. LXXX).

<sup>m</sup> Aš-šur-našir-apli šakin ilu Bêl šangî Aš-šur<sup>1</sup> apil <sup>m</sup> Tukulti-Ninurta šarru rabû(u) šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mâtû Aš-šur apil Adad-nirari šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mâtû Aššuri-ma (ša) bît ilu Ištar ša alu Nî-nu-a bêlti-ia epuš-ma ar-šip.

Ashur-našir-pal, prefect of Bêl, priest of Ashur, son of Tukulti-Ninurta, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, king of Assyria, son of Adad-nirari, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, king of Assyria: who built and erected the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, my lady.

(4) *Conquests, and the Restoration of the Temple of Ishtar.*

Nos. 96 (Pl. LXXI), 97, 98 (Pl. LXXII), 121, 122 (?),<sup>1</sup> 124, 126, 131, 136 (Pl. LXXIV), 178, 179 (?) (Pl. LXXVII), 221, 223 (Pl. LXXIX), 247 (?) (Pl. LXXX).<sup>2</sup>

(1) <sup>m</sup> 3 Aš-šur-našir-apli šar mâtû Aš-šur šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šarru la ša-(na)-an šar kul-lat (2) kib-rat arba-i ilu Šam-šu kiš-šat nišēp<sup>1</sup> šarru dan-nu ni-šit ilu Bêl u ilu Ninurta (3) šangû u . . . [U]a ma-gi-ri mu-pa<sup>4</sup>-ri-ru hur-ša-a-ni ša-ku-ti ša du-rug-šu-nu la-a e-ti-ku (4) [zikaru dan-nu] mu-kab-bi-(is) kišad a-a-bi-šu mu-ḫal-liḫ za-i<sup>5</sup>-ri-šu mu-'bit dūr nakri<sup>1</sup>-šu (5) . . . za-ia-a-ri šarru mu-šik-niḫ la ka-an-šu-te-šu ma-ḫir bilti u ma-da-a-te ša kib-rat irbitta(ta) ša-bit (6) [li-i-ti ša-kin li-i]-te ša kal-ši-na tubkâti<sup>1</sup> mâr Tukulti-Ninurta šarru dan-ni šar mâtû Aš-šur apil Adad-nirari šarru dan-ni šar mâtû Aš-šur-[ma] (7) [ . . .<sup>6</sup> šarru ša] ina tukulti(ti) Aš-šur ilu Adad ilu Ištar ilu Ninurta ilâni<sup>1</sup> ri-ši-šu itallaku(ku)-ma ina mal-ki ša kib-rat irbitta(ta) (8) ša-nin-šu la i-šu-[u] šarru dan-nu ša ištu e-bir-ta-[an] nâru Idiḫlat [a-di mâtû Lab]-na-ni<sup>7</sup> u tâmti<sup>8</sup> rabûte(te) ša mâtû A-mur-ri (9) [ša šulum ilu Šamši mâtû Ha-a-ti a-na si-ḫir-ti-ša kat]-su

1. 259 adds šarru rabû šarru da[n-nu].

Variants:—<sup>1</sup> Note 123, l. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. 95 (Pl. lxxi).

<sup>3</sup> 126, ilu.

<sup>4</sup> 126, par.

<sup>5</sup> 126, ia. <sup>6</sup> See 126, end (?). <sup>7</sup> 221, uš, for na. <sup>8</sup> 221, A.B.A.B. for A.A.B.B.A.

<sup>9</sup> Cf. 95, 3. <sup>10</sup> Cf. 96, l (Col. ii).

<sup>11</sup> Cf. 122, 4, [Dâr ?]-mKu-ri-gal-zi (cf. Arch., 117; and 124, 2 [mâtûKar]-du-ni-aš; 230, 2 [mâtûKar]-du-ni-[aš]. <sup>12</sup> 230 omits.

<sup>13</sup> Cf. 85, 3 ? <sup>14</sup> 223, (?) E.M.A.S.M[AŠ], but the traces are not those of e-nu-ma before it. <sup>15</sup> Cf. (?) 85, 4. . . šarru dan-nu . . . <sup>16</sup> 230 apparently . . . di (?) šu rubû šu-u (?) . . .

<sup>17</sup> 136 here (?) . . . ak (?) ti . . . <sup>18</sup> 97-98, gab (sic). <sup>19</sup> Here note 86, 87, 90, 125.

<sup>20</sup> 136, 179 add ia. <sup>21</sup> 179, a-na. <sup>22</sup> 136, aš-ri-šu-nu. <sup>23</sup> 223, aš-ri-šu u (or, lu ?).

<sup>24</sup> 131, lat.



ik-šu-du ištu riš [e-ni nāruS]u-ub-na-at [a-di mātu<sup>nir-b</sup>]i ša be-ta-a-ni  
 rapšāti<sup>pl</sup> mātuNa-i-ri (10) [a-na paṭ gim-ri-ša a-pil mātuLa-ki-e] a-[n]a  
 si-ḫir-ti-[ša akšud mātuS]u-ḫi a-di Ra-p[i-ki a-na šepā<sup>pl</sup>-ia u-šik]-niš  
 iš-tu [ni-ri-bi] ša mātuKir-ru-ri a-di mātuGil-za-a-[ni] (11) [ištu ni-rib ša  
 āluBa-bi-te adi] mātuHaš-mar [a-na niše māti-ia am-nu ištu e-b]ir-ta-an  
 nāruZa-ban šaphita(ta) ā-di Tul- (12) ba-a-ri ša el-la-an Za-ban ištu  
 [Tul-ša-Zab-ṭa-ni Tul-ša-ab]-ta-a-ni <sup>alu</sup>Hi-ri-mu Ha-[ru-tu a-na] me-šir<sup>9</sup>  
 māti-ia am-nu ina mātāti<sup>pl</sup> kal-ši-na (13) <sup>10</sup> . . . . <sup>11</sup>-nu ša a-pi-lu-u-ni  
 am[ša-nu-te al-ia-kan] ardūti<sup>pl</sup>(ti) u-pu-šu bilti-ma ma-da-a<sup>12</sup>-tu (14) [e-me-  
 su-nu-ti (?)]<sup>13</sup> . . . E-nu-ma bīt <sup>ilu</sup>Ištar<sup>14</sup> ša <sup>alu</sup>N[i-nu-a bēlti-ia ša A]š-šur-  
 uballit<sup>15</sup> šar mātuAš-šur rubū<sup>16</sup> a-lik pa-ni-ia an-ḫu-su (15) . . <sup>17</sup>ištu  
 tar-zi Bit-Na-at-ḫi a-di . . . -šu e-na-aḫ-ma 'a[b-t]a (?) (16) ašar-šu  
 u-me-si dan-[na-su] ak-šud iš-tu [ušše-šu a-di] gab-dib-bi <sup>18</sup>-šu ar-šip  
 u-šik-lil<sup>19</sup> eli maḫ-ri-e (17) tak-na-ra-a <sup>20</sup>al-tu-ur ina kir-bi-šu aš-ku-un  
 rubū arkū [an-ḫ]u-su lu-diš šumi šaṭ-ra ina <sup>21</sup>aš-ri-šu <sup>22</sup>[lu <sup>23</sup>-tir] . . .  
<sup>ilu</sup>Ištar be-lit<sup>24</sup> <sup>alu</sup>Ni-na-(a) ik-ri-bi-šu i-še-me (18) [ina taḫazi ša šar-  
 rani<sup>pl</sup>(ni)] aš-ra tak-ru-ub-ti am-mar lib-bi-šu lu-ši (sic)-su . . . (19) . . .  
<sup>ilu</sup>Ištar bēlti rabīte(te) [ina] <sup>i</sup>u<sup>kussi-šu li-šallim-mu-šu</sup> [ina pan nakri]<sup>pl</sup>-šu  
 ka-miṣ lu-še-šib-šu.

(1) Ashur-našir-pal, king of Assyria, the great king, the powerful king, the king of multitudes, the king unrivalled, the king of all (2) the four regions, the sun of multitudes of men, the powerful king, the beloved of Bēl and Ninurta, (3) the priest . . . [who bringeth to subjection] the disobedient, who breaketh open high mountains with impassable ways, (4) [the strong hero] who trampleth on the necks of his enemies, overwhelming his foes, destroying the wall of his adversaries, (5) . . . those who are hostile; the king who subdueth those who are not submissive to him, receiving tribute and tax from the four regions, taking (6) [hostages, exercising pow]er in all directions: the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, the powerful king, the king of Assyria, the son of Adad-nirari, the powerful king, the king of Assyria [also], (7) [ . . the king who] by the help of Ashur, Adad, Ishtar, (and) Ninurta, the gods, his helpers, hath walked and among the princes of the four regions (8) hath no rival: the powerful [king] who from the other side of the Tigris [unto] the Lebanon and the Great Sea of Amurri (9) [of the Setting Sun: the land of Ḫatti to its whole extent his hand] hath conquered: from the source of the Subnat [as far as the passes with]in the broad lands of Nairi (10) [throughout I overcame: Laḫē] to [its] whole extent I [conquered: Su]ḫi as far as Rap[iki] I caused

to submit to my feet : from the passes] of Kurruri up to Gilzâni (11) [from the pass of Babite up to] Hashmar [as the people of my land I counted : from the other] side of the Lower Zab to Tul (12) bâri which is above Zaban, from [Tul-ša-Zabāni, Tul-ša-Ab]tani, Hirimu, Ha[rutu, unto] the border of my land I reckoned : throughout all lands (13)<sup>1</sup> . . . which I had overcome, [my governors I appointed] : vassalage, service, tax and tribute, (14) [I laid upon them (?)]. When the Temple of Ishtar of N[ineveh, my lady, which A]shur-uballiṣ, king of Assyria, a prince going before me its ruins (15) [had built] . . . (15) from the time of the Bit-Natḥi<sup>2</sup> until . . . was in ruins and fallen (?); (16) its site I cleared, reaching to its base ; I bonded (and) completed it [from its foundation to] its roof more than it was before. (17) A stone tablet I wrote, placing (it) therein. May some future prince renew its [ru]ins, restore my written name to its place . . . (and) Ishtar, lady of Nineveh, shall hear his prayers. (18) [In the war of kings], upon the field of battle, may she cause him to attain all that is in his heart, . . . (19) may Ishtar, the great lady, make him prosperous [on] his throne ! [(But he that shall alter it)], may she set him in bonds [before] his [foes] !

(5) *Restoration of the Temple of Ishtar* (dup. of *Annals*, 158). Nos. 93 (Pl. LXXI), 114 (Pl. LXXIII), 168 (?) (Pl. LXXVI).

(6) (*Ashur-naṣir-pal* ?) *Restoration of the Temple of Ishtar*. Nos. 91 (Pl. LXXI), 230 (?) (Pl. LXXIX).

(7) *Fragments*. Nos. 85, 89 (Pl. LXXI), 101 (Pl. LXXII), 103, 119 (Pl. LXXIII), 128 (Pl. LXXIV, mentioning [Bî]t-Na-at-ḥi.)

(8) *Titles and conquests of Ashur-naṣir-pal, similar to the usual texts, but with the addition of his campaign into the Amanus mountains, where he cut down beams of ušû (maple)-wood*. Nos. 127, 129 (Pl. LXXIV) : cf. *Annals*, 373, 88, and No. 95 (?) (Pl. LXXI).

1. But see footnote in transliteration.

2. The *Bit-natḥi*, mentioned on numerous bricks of Ashur-naṣir-pal at Nineveh (*Arch.* 122), as I suggested in *A.A.A.*, 92, may have had its site down the slope adjacent to the N.W. of the Temple of Ishtar, where we found so many sheep bones (at 10' to 12' below datum-level), thus bearing out the suggestion in *Arch.*, that it was the slaughter-house for the Temple of Ishtar. Now in Unger's publication *Der Obelisk der Königs Assurnassirpal I aus Ninive* (whether it be a question of Ashurnasirpal I or II is immaterial) a passage (ll. 35-36) at the end states : *Bit-Natḥi ša abu Ninua karani nikēte* (te) *ša E-KUR iṣu Sirtē etapaš(aš)*, '*Bit-Natḥi* of Ninua. Wine, sacrifices of the Temple of the goddess Sirtu (=Ishtar) I made.' (Unger's *immer* (why not *imer* ?) for the sign *karanu* must be wrong, and I am uncertain whether the sign for the goddess' name is MAḪ, or *šir*, having examined the obelisk itself.) The sculpture beneath this inscription presents a scene of sacrifice, with oxen, apparently below the level of a shrine, which must surely be that of the Temple of Ishtar on the top of the slope, as I have mentioned above. The tent-like building on the right of the scene may represent the *Bit-natḥi*.

(9) No. 148 (Pl. LXXV) [Ashur-našir-pal?]. The text is much the same as that of the Ashur-našir-pal inscriptions, but l. 5 records the repair of 'the Temple of Adad, my lord,' and this, as far as we know, was not carried out by this king in Nineveh.

G. *Shalmaneser III*, c. 858-824 B.C., probably No. 107 (Pl. LXXIII).

H. *Adad-nirari III*, c. 805-782 B.C. No. 219 (Pl. LXXIX).

(1) . . . ta . . . (2) [<sup>m</sup> *ilu* Adad-nirari ša]r mātu Aš-šur mār Šam-ši-  
*ilu* [Adad] . . . (3) . . . na ra-šub-ba a-ki-i bit . . . (4) . . . mTukulti(ti)-  
*ilu* Ninurta šar mātu Aš-šur . . . (5) . . . ak-sir iš-tu uš-[še-e-šu] . . .

I. *Sargon*, c. 721-705 B.C.

(1) Nos. 102, 110, 111 (Pl. LXXIII), 132 (Pl. LXXIV), 152 (Pl. LXXV), 155-160, 162, 166, 167 (Pl. LXXVI), 226 (Pl. LXXIX): *Arch.*, 133, Nos. 122, D, F, O; III R., 3, 12: 81-2-4, 182 (see Winckler, *Sargon*, Nos. 14-15).

(1) <sup>m</sup>Šar-gi-na šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur<sup>1</sup> <sup>1</sup> šakin *ilu* Bēl nišak *ilu* A-šur<sup>1</sup>  
(2) ri'u [kīnu ša *ilu* A-šur] *ilu* Marduk [ut-tu-šu?] . . . uš šarru . . . -a-ti  
u(?) . . . (3) ša a-na šarru-ti ib-bu-u-šu <sup>2</sup> ilāni<sup>pl</sup> rabūti<sup>pl</sup> a-na-ku-ma<sup>2</sup>  
(4) Bīl *ilu* Nabū u <sup>3</sup> *ilu* Marduk ša i-na tar-ši abullī eš-še-ti<sup>4</sup> ša(?) iltani i-na  
pa-na ip-šu e-na-aš-ma (5) <sup>m</sup> *ilu* Adad-nirari<sup>5</sup> apil <sup>m</sup>Šam-ši-<sup>6</sup> *ilu* Adad šar  
mātu Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> [rubū alik] pa-ni-ia e-pu-uš<sup>7</sup> (6) ša bītu ša-a-tu šur-šu-šu  
ul<sup>8</sup> [ ] -dan-nu-nu-ma išid-su ki-i<sup>9</sup> ki-šir šad(i)<sup>10</sup> ul ri<sup>11</sup>-ti LX+XV a-an  
šanāti<sup>pl</sup> im-la-a-ma an-ḥu-ta u la-bi-ru-ta il-lik-ma (7) aš-šu la inakkir  
šubtu<sup>12</sup>-šu i-na ti-iḥ bit *ilu* Ištar ša *ilu* Ninuaki e-pi-šu pi-i *ilu* [Nabī] be-li-ia  
a-šal-ma an-nu-um ki-nu-um ša la inakkir šubtu-šu [ . . ]<sup>13</sup> ina ma-kal-ti  
ambarū-ti i-pu-la<sup>14</sup> an-ni-ma (8) Bīl *ilu* Nabū u *ilu* Marduk bēl<sup>pl</sup>-ia i-na  
ti-iḥ Bīl *ilu* Ištar<sup>15</sup> ša *ilu* Ni-na-a<sup>16</sup> e-pu-šu ul-tu ušši<sup>17</sup>-šu a-di gab-dib-<sup>18</sup>  
bi-šu ar-ši-ip u-šak-lil u <sup>19</sup> e-pu-uš<sup>19</sup> karpātu zi-ka-a-ti aš-kun (9) a-na  
balaṭi-ia šulum ziri-ia za-ka-p amnakri<sup>pl</sup>-ia šutešur ebur<sup>20</sup> mātu Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup><sup>20</sup>  
šulmu(mu) mātu Aš-šur<sup>ki</sup> e-pu-uš.

Sargon, king of the multitudes, king of Assyria, prefect of Bēl, minister of Ashur, [true] shepherd [whom Ashur and] Marduk [have

Variants:—

- <sup>1</sup> 162, nišak *ilu* Bēl u *ilu* Marduk ša (?) . . .; 155, Aš-šur. <sup>2</sup> Omitted on Winckler 14.  
<sup>3</sup> 159 omits. <sup>4</sup> 162, ešše-ti(ti). <sup>5</sup> 159 and III R., 3, 12, ni-ra-ri. <sup>6</sup> 102, *ilu* Šamši:  
158 [ilu] šanši(šu). <sup>7</sup> 155, epu(uš). <sup>8</sup> Lu-u (perhaps erasure) on *Arch.*, 122, F.  
<sup>9</sup> 110, m[a]. <sup>10</sup> 158, šad(e). <sup>11</sup> 156 adds i, 158 e. <sup>12</sup> 110, šub-[tu]. <sup>13</sup> 132,  
perhaps [KI.K]U-šu, without gap. <sup>14</sup> 159, lu. <sup>15</sup> *Arch.*, 122, F, Iš-tar. <sup>16</sup> 160,  
and *Arch.*, 122, F., *ilu* Ninuaki. <sup>17</sup> 166, uš-še-e. <sup>18</sup> 155 omits. <sup>19</sup> 132 omits.  
<sup>20</sup> 166, Aš-šur.

chosen ?] . . . . , whom the great gods have called to the royalty am I. The Temple of Nabû and Marduk which aforetime had been built in the time of <sup>1</sup> the new Great Northern Gate, went to ruin, and Adad-nirari, the son of Shamshi-Adad, the king of Assyria [the prince going] before me (re-)built. Of that temple its grounding was not strong, and its foundation was not bonded firmly <sup>2</sup> like the solidity of mountains. Seventy-five years <sup>3</sup> were filled, and it went to ruin and decay. In order that its site over against the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh should not be changed, the command of [Nabû], my lord, I asked, and with a definite answer that 'its site shall not be changed' in the divining bowl of the craft of the seer he answered me. The Temple of Nabû and Marduk, my lords, (which) had been built over against the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, from its foundation to its roof I bonded, completed and built, (and therein) placed my (inscribed) *zigâti*. For my life, the welfare of my seed, the destruction of my foes, for the prosperity of the crops of Assyria (and) the welfare of the land of Assyria I have built (it).

#### J. Uncertain.

No. 222 (Pl. LXXIX).

(2) . . . *iḫ* . . . *nêšip*<sup>1</sup> . . . (3) . . . *ilu* *Ištar bêlti-ia u-šal-ba-ru-ma* . . . (4) . . . *a-na aš-ri-šu lu-tir* (5) . . . [*hiš*]-*ki-pu šum-šu u zir-šu* . . . (6) . . . *-ši* *Adad* . . .

(Fragments much mutilated and not included.)

Nos. 68, 86-88, 90, 99, 103, 105, 108, 109, 115-118, 120, 123, 125, 135, 137, 144, 145, 147, 149, 150, 154, 163-165, 175, 176 A, 177, 180, 181, 208, 213, 214, 217, 218, 220, 227-229, 232, 233, 235-237, 242, 253, 255, 259, 286.

1. Weidner, in his courteous review of the Nineveh excavations (*Archiv f. Orientf.*, VII, 280), thinks that it should be 'gegenüber dem neuen Tore' rather than 'in the time of the new great gate.' But I still think the latter is preferable: we have now the addition of 'north' to the great gate, so that Weidner's ingenious suggestion that the great gate may have lain at the south corner of the old palace, on which Ashurbani-pal built his later palace (abutting close on the Temple of Nabû), can hardly stand. Then in Ashur-našir-pal's inscription F (4), l. 15, p. 101, the phrase *ištu tarzi Bît-natḫi adi* . . . *šu enaḫ* after the mutilated mention of Ashur-uballit (who built the Ishtar-Temple) is more likely to refer to time than to place. Moreover, in B (1), l. 9, the use of *ina tarzi m ilu* *Sulmanu-ašarid* is definitely of time; and on the contrary, above, in l. 7, the phrase used for the juxtaposition of two buildings is shewn in *ina iḫ Bît ilu* *Ištar*.

2. *Bî-ti, ri-i-ti, ri-e-ti*, from *ri-ti*.

3. *Imā*, f. pl., agreeing with *šanāti*. For another use of *malū* with a space of time; cf. Muss-Arnolt, *Dict.*, 541, III R., 38, No. 1, 15 of *amē*; cf. also Heb. *mālē* frequently.

## STONE INSCRIPTIONS

K. *Shamshi-Adad I*, c. 1840 B.C.

(1) Nos. 260, A-K, and 268 (Pls. LXXXI-LXXXIV).

The following text is from stone cylinders and a four-sided stone found in the neighbourhood of the Temple of Ishtar. They had been placed originally in a building called E-Me-nu-e, in the precincts of the great Temple E-Mashmash, by Shamshi-Adad.

I. (1) <sup>1</sup> *ilu* [*Šam-ši*]<sup>*ilu*</sup> *Adad* (2) *da-num* (3) *šar kiššati* (4) *ša-ki-in*  
*ilu* <sup>2</sup> *EN . LIL* (5) *PA . TE . SI* *ilu* *A-šir* (6) *na-ra-am* *ilu* *Ištar* (7) *bi-tum*  
*E . ME . NU . E* (8) *ša i-na ka-ka-šar E* <sup>3</sup> *MAS . MAS* (9) *bi-tim la-bi-ri*  
(10) *ša Ma-an-iš-ti-šu* (11) *apil Šar-ru-ki-in* (12) *šar A-ga-deki* <sup>4</sup> (13) *i-pu-šu*  
*i-na-aḫ-ma* (14) *bi-tu ša iš-tu* (15) *šu-lum A-ga-deki* (16) *a-di* <sup>5</sup> *šar-ru-ti-ia*  
(17) *a-di ša-ba-at Nu-ur-ru-giki* (18) *VII da* <sup>6</sup> *a-ru i-ti-ku-ma* (19)  
*i-na šarrāni* <sup>7</sup> (20) <sup>8</sup> *a-lī-[ki pani-ia]* (21) *šarru [ma-an-na-ma]* (22)  
*[a i-pu-uš]* (23) *am (?)* . . . . . (24) *an . . .*

II. (1) . . . <sup>1</sup> *pl* (2) . . . *zi-ik-ku* <sup>2</sup> *ra-tam* (3) *šu(?)* <sup>3</sup> *bil ra-bi-a-am* <sup>4</sup> (4)  
*ša e-lī pān ka-ad-mi-ki* (5) *ne-bi-šu-šu ra-bu-u* (6) *na-ak-lu lu-e-pu-uš*  
(7) *bitu ša ki-a-am* <sup>5</sup> (8) *mī-im-mu-šu* *šu-uk-lu-lu* (9) *šarru ma-an-na-ma*  
(10) *a-na* *ilu* *Ištar* (11) *i-na Ni-nu-wa-aki* (12) *la i-pu-šu bitī ša-a-ti* (13)  
*zi-ib-bi-šu uš-zi-iz* (14) *zi-ik* <sup>6</sup> *ku-ur-ra-as-su* (15) *u-ul-lī* (16) *ra-bi-i-š* (17)  
*u-ša-ak-li-il-šu-ma* (18) *E . KI . ŠUB . AZAG . GA* (19) *Ḫu-ru-uš ni-ši-ir-ti-ša*  
(20) *šum-šu ab-bi* (21) *[na-ri-e]* <sup>7</sup> *Ma-an-iš-ti-šu* (22) *[u te-i]m-*  
*m[e]-ni-šu* (23) . . . *-ru-ma* <sup>8</sup> (24) . . . .

III. (1) . . . . (2) . . . <sup>1</sup> (3) <sup>2</sup> *a-na . . .* <sup>3</sup> *e(?)*-*šu* (4) *u te-[im-me]-ni-šu*  
(5) *lu-u aš-ku-un* (6) *a-na ša-a-ti* (7) *ilu* *Ištar be-el-ti* (8) *pa-la-a-am id-di-*  
*ša-am* (9) *lu-u-iš-ru-kam* (10) (Blank.) (11) *aḫ* <sup>4</sup> *ri-ti-iš* <sup>5</sup> *ūmi(m)* (12) *la-*  
*ba-ri-iš bitī* (13) *šarru ša* *ilu* *EN . LIL* (14) *i-na-ab-bu-šu* (15) *i-nu-ma*  
*E . KI . UB . AZAG . GA* (16) *ša a-na-ku e-pu-šu* (17) *i-ta an-ḫu-ma*  
(18) *u-ud-da-šu* (19) *ki-ma a-na-ku na-ri-e* (20) <sup>6</sup> *u te* <sup>7</sup> *im-me-ni* (21) *ša*  
*Ma-an-iš-ti-šu* (22) *la u-na* <sup>8</sup> *ak-ki-ru* (23) *na-ri-e-ia* (24) *[u te* <sup>9</sup> *im-*  
*me-ni-i[a]* (25) *[la u]-na-ak-ki-i[r]* (26) <sup>10</sup> . . . .

## Variants:—

- I. <sup>1</sup> AB begins. <sup>2</sup> C, Col. I, begins. <sup>3</sup> C, Col. I, ends. <sup>4</sup> B, Col. I, ends.  
<sup>5</sup> H probably begins. <sup>6</sup> H probably ends. <sup>7</sup> A, Col. I, ends. <sup>8</sup> B, Col. I, begins.  
II. <sup>1</sup> B, Col. II, begins three ll. before this. <sup>2</sup> C, Col. II, begins. <sup>3</sup> A, Col. II, and  
268 begins. <sup>4</sup> 268 ends. <sup>5</sup> C, Col. II, ends. <sup>6</sup> K begins. <sup>7</sup> B, Col. II, and  
K end. <sup>8</sup> A, Col. II, ends.  
III. <sup>1</sup> C, Col. III, begins. <sup>2</sup> B, Col. III, begins. <sup>3</sup> A, Col. III, begins. <sup>4</sup> C, Col.  
III, ends. <sup>5</sup> B, Col. III (top), ends. <sup>6</sup> E begins. <sup>7</sup> G begins. <sup>8</sup> B, Col. III, ends.  
<sup>9</sup> A, Col. III, ends. <sup>10</sup> E, G end.



IV. (1) . . . <sup>1</sup>ni-šu-nu-ti (2) šum-ma šarru šu-u (3) ik-ši-da-ma (4) na-ri-e <sup>2</sup>ia (5) u te-im-me-ni-ia (6) u-ta-a[z]-zi-ik-ma (7) a-na aš-ri-šu <sup>3</sup>nu <sup>4</sup> (8) la u-te-ir-šu-nu <sup>5</sup>ti (9) na-ri-e-šu-ma (10) u te-im-me-ni-šu (11) iš-ta-ka-an šarru šu-u (12) ša e-li ilāni<sup>pl</sup> (13) u šarrāni<sup>pl</sup> mar-su (14) i-te-bi-eš (15) iluŠamaš da-a-ia-nu (16) ra-bu-u ša šamē u iršitim (17) ki-ma ša-ri-ku be-el da-mi (18) a-na ka-at šarri (19) be-el li-mu-ut-ti-šu (20) li-ma-al-[li-m]a (21) iluIštar bēlit Ni-nu-wa-a<sup>ki</sup> (22) šar-ru-us-su u pa-la-[a-su] (23) li-te-ir . . . . (24) a(?)-na(?) <sup>6</sup> . . . .

V. (1) . . . na . . . (2) . . . iluAdad(?) (3) . . . -bil(?) (4) . . -az-zi-ik-šu-ma (5) . . . <sup>pl</sup> ŠAR . . (6) . . , zi-ik-ku-ra-[tu] (7) . . .

(Fragments not included : F, J.)

I. (1) Shamshi-Adad, (2) the powerful, (3) the king of multitudes, (4) prefect of Bēl, (5) viceroy of Ashur, (6) beloved of Ishtar. (7) The Temple of E-Me-nu-e, (8) which (lieth) within the grounds of E-Mash-mash, (9) the ancient building (10) which Manishtishu, (11) the son of Sargon, (12) king of Agade (13) built, went to ruin; (14) the building over which after (15) the End of Agade (16) until my reign (17) until the capture of the land of Nurrugi (18) seven generations passed and (19) among the kings (20) preceding [me none had restored] . . . . .

II. (1) . . . (2) the Temple-tower (3) . . . great, (4, 5) whereof its work greater (and) more cunningly than before <sup>1</sup> (6) I wrought. (7) A building, (8) which was all of it completed thus, (9) no king (10) for Ishtar (11) in Nineveh (12) had built: (of) that building (13) its threshold I settled, (14) its tower (15) I raised (16) to a great height: (17) I completed it and (20) called its name (18) E-Ki-šub-azag-ga, (19) 'the Mountain of its Treasury' (21) [The stone tablets] of Manishtishu (22) [and] his cylinders (24) [I found] (?) and . . .

III. . . . (3) his [stone tablets] (4) and his [cylinders] (5) (re-)placed (6) For this may (7) Ishtar, my lady, (9) grant (me) (8) a renewed (?) reign! (10) (*Blank.*) (11) In future days, (12) when the building is old, (13) (that) king whom Bēl (14) shall proclaim, (15) when E-Ki-šub-azag-ga, (16) which I have built, (17) shall have gone to ruin, (18) shall restore (it): (19) just as I the stone tablets (20) and cylinders (21) of Manishtishu (22)

Variants:—IV. <sup>1</sup> A, Col. IV, begins. <sup>2</sup> D begins. <sup>3</sup> I begins. <sup>4</sup> D ends. <sup>5</sup> I ends. <sup>6</sup> B, Col. IV, ends.

1. *Pān (š) ka-ad-mi-ki*. This is the sense which is usually expected here, but whether we can see final *-ki* added to *kadmu* 'ancient'—i.e. 'what is before'—is uncertain. Perhaps compare *immanakku*, *elammaku*.



have not changed, (23) (so) my stone tablet (24) [and] cylinders (25) [he shall not] change . . .

IV. (1) Their . . . (2) If that king (3) shall have reached and (6) shall remove (4) my stone tablets (5) and cylinders, and (8) shall not restore them (7) to their places, (11) (but) shall put (instead) (9) his own stone tablets (10) and cylinders; that king (12) who against gods (13) and kings (14) hath wrought evil, (15) (then) may Shamash, the great (16) judge of heaven and earth, (17) as a thief (and) a murderer (20) requite (18) the guilty (19) king, (and) (21) may Ishtar, lady of Nineveh, [destroy] his kingdom and his life! . . .

V. (1) . . . (2) . . . (3) . . . (4) . . harm him and (5) . . . (6) the Temple-tower . . .

(2) No. 183 (Pl. LXXVII). Part of a macehead of Shamshi-Adad.

(1) . . . *iluŠamši(ši)-iluA[dad]* . . . (2) . . . -e *šarru* . . . (3) . . . -e *šarru* . . . (4) . . .

L. *Kadashman-Enlil I* (?), c. 1400 B.C.

No. 267 (Pl. LXXXIII). Half a votive macehead.

(1) [*E*]kal Ka-da-aš-ma-an-*iluEnlil* . . . (2) . . . [*ša*]r *EŠ.NUN.NA.KI* an . . .

(1) Palace of Kadashman-Enlil . . . (2) . . . king of Ashnunnak (Tupliash) . . .

M. *Shalmaneser I*, c. 1280 B.C.

No. 210 (Pl. LXXXVIII). Basalt cone.

(1) . . . [*m iluŠulmanu(ma-nu)-ašarid*] (2) . . . *ša* . . .

N. *Tiglath-Pileser I*, c. 1100 B.C.

No. 270 (Pl. LXXXIII). Octagonal, basalt.

(1) . . . [*m Tukul*]ti-apli-E-šar-ra (2) . . . ka-šid *mâtâtî<sup>pl</sup>* . . . (3) . . . [*šar*] *kiššati šar mâtu Aš-šur* . . .

Tiglath-Pileser . . . the conqueror of lands . . . [the] king of multitudes, the king of Assyria . . .

O. *Adad-nirari II*, c. 911-890 B.C.

No. 266 (Pl. LXXXIII). Cylindrical hollow object of basalt, duplicate of and similar to B.M. No. 90853 (*Annals*, 154).

P. *Ashur-naṣir-pal*, 883-859 B.C.

(1) No. 272 (Pls. LXXXV-LXXXVII). The big slab in the Temple

of Ishtar: the N.W. face sculptured originally with Ashur-našir-pal receiving three tributary kings, and the S.E. face inscribed at least in triplicate as follows. Composed now of more than a hundred pieces (broken up probably by Parthians and used in their walls), and preserved in the Birmingham Art Gallery and Museum:—

(1) *m*Aš-šur-našir-apli šarru rabû šarru dan-nu šar kiššati šar mātu Aš-šur šar kul-lat kib-rat irbitta(ta) *ilu*Šam-šu kiš-šat niše<sup>pl</sup>

(2) rubû(u) šangî Aš-šur id-lu ḫar-du ša ina tukulti(ti) Aš-šur u *ilu*Ša-maš<sup>1</sup> itallaku-ma ina [ma]l-ki ša kib-rat irbitta(ta)

(3) ša-nin-šu la-a i-šu-u m̄ka-bi-is ri-še-te ša šadê<sup>pl</sup>(e) ka-liš ḫur-ša-a-ni m[u-kan]-niš

(4) la ma-gi-ru-ut Aš-šur ša ZAK.ZAK e-liš u šap-liš mu-tal-lik sam-g[a-a]-ni

(5) a-me-ru dur-gi u šap-ša-ki LU.GAL mâtâtî<sup>pl</sup> šar-ḫu ša ar-ḫi pa-aš-ḫu-te

(6) iš-tam-da-ḫu šadê<sup>pl</sup>(e) u tāmâtî<sup>pl</sup> nab-ni-tu el-lu-tu šarru da-pi-nu mu-dî-iš tar-gi-gi

(7) ri'u(u) kib-rat irbitta(ta) ša nap-ḫar kiš-šat niše<sup>pl</sup> pa-a ešten(en) u-ša-aš-ki-nu mu-tir gi-mil-li mātu Aš-šur

(8) mu-ra-pi-šu mi-šir mâtî-šu šarru ša bi-ib-lat lib-bi-šu Aš-šur u-šik-ši-du-šu-ma nap-ḫar nakirê<sup>pl</sup>-šu

(9) ik-šu-du<sup>2</sup> e-šar-tu kât-su šar šarrâni<sup>pl</sup>-ni šakkanak Aš-šur bēl mâtâtî<sup>pl</sup> šarru na<sup>2</sup>-id ilâni<sup>pl</sup> ni-šit êni<sup>pl</sup><sup>3</sup>

(10) *ilu*Bēl. E-nu-ma *ilu*A-nu *ilu*Bēl u *ilu*E-a ud-du-ni-ma ana<sup>4</sup> ri'u-ut *ilu*Aš-šur ib-bu<sup>5</sup>-ni i<sup>su</sup>kussi i<sup>su</sup>ḫaṭṭi

(11) a-ga-a u ši-bir-ru u-šat-me-ḫu be-lu-ti nap-ḫar mâtâtî<sup>pl</sup> la ma-gi-ru-ut Aš-šur a-na pi-li

(12) u šuk-nu-ši ag-giš u-ma<sup>2</sup>-ru-ni iḫlu ḫar-du ašarid ka-la ma-li-ki mu-ka<sup>6</sup>-bi-is<sup>7</sup> kišad mal-ki

(13) šar-ḫu bēl bēlê<sup>pl</sup> a-bu-bu šam-ru ma-ḫir bilti u i-gi-si-e ša kal-ši-na mâtâtî<sup>pl</sup> ša a-na

(14) ti-ib i<sup>su</sup>kakkê<sup>pl</sup>-šu iz-zu-te gi-mir mâtâtî<sup>pl</sup> i-ḫi-la ul-ta-nap-ša-ka kima kiš-ki-te-e

(15) i-šu-da mu-pat-ti ša tu-da-at šadê<sup>pl</sup>(e) ša kima še-lu-ut paṭ-ri a-na šame(e) zi-kip-ta ša-ak-nu

Variants:—<sup>1</sup> Šamaš.  
<sup>6</sup> kab. <sup>7</sup> si.

<sup>2</sup> ud.

<sup>3</sup> Omitted.

<sup>4</sup> a-na.

<sup>5</sup> u added.

- (16) *ša kima ša-ru-ur ilu Sam-ši ili ina tihi-šu(?)*<sup>8</sup> *eli mâti-šu šu-par-ru-ru-ma it-tab-ba-lu nišep<sup>l</sup>-šu ina šulmi(mi)*
- (17) *apil i<sup>su</sup> Tukulti(ti) ilu Ninurta ša-ak-ni ilu Bêl šangî Aš-šur ša kul-lat za-i-ri-šu i-ni-ru-ma ina ga-ši-ši*
- (18) *u-ri-tu-u pa-ag-ri gi-ri-šu A. A ša*<sup>9</sup> *ilu Adad-nirari šakkanak ilâni<sup>pl</sup> rabûti<sup>pl</sup> ša si-kip-ti*
- (19) *la ma-gi-ri-šu il-ta-ka-nu ma-hi-ra la i-šu-u ka-šid ištu e-bir-tan*<sup>10</sup>
- (20) *nâru Idiklat a-di mâtu Lab-na-ni u tâmti rabûti(ti) ša mâtu Mur-ri ša šulum(um) ilu Šam-ši*
- (21) *mâtu Ha-a-ti a-na si-hip-ti-ša kât-su ik-šu-du ištu riš e-ni nâru Su-ub-na-at*
- (22) *a-di mâtu U-ru-me rapaštu(tu) mâtâti Na-i-ri [a]-na pât gim-ri-ša a-pil mâtu La-ki-e*
- (23) *ana*<sup>11</sup> *si-hip-ti-ša akšud(uđ) mâtu Su-hi a-di mâtu Ra-pi-ki a-na šepê<sup>pl</sup>-ia u-šik-ni-ši*
- (24) *ištu ni-ri-bi*<sup>12</sup> *ša mâtu Kir-ru-ri a-di mâtu Gil-za-ni ištu ni-ri-be ša alu Ba-bi-te a-di mâtu Nam-ri*
- (25) *ana*<sup>11</sup> *nišep<sup>pl</sup> mâti-ia am-nu ištu e-bir-tan nâru Za-ba šaplita(ta) adi alu Tul-ba-a*<sup>13</sup> *ri ša el-la-an mâtu Za-ban*
- (26) *adi alu Tul-ša*<sup>m</sup> *Za-ab-ša*<sup>14</sup> *ni u alu Tul-[ša]*<sup>m</sup> *Ab-ša-ni alu Hi-ri-mu alu Ha-ru-tu*
- (27) *alu bi-ra-a-te ša mâtu Kar-du-[ni]-aš a-na mi-šir mâti-ia u-tir*
- (28) *L M um-ma-ni lu ad-ki a-na mâtu Me-iḫ-ri al-lik mâtu Me-iḫ-ri ana*<sup>11</sup> *si-hip-ti-ša*
- (29) *kâti(ti) ik-šu-du i<sup>su</sup> ga-šu-ri a-na ilu Ištâr ša alu Ni-na-a bêlti-ia*
- (30) *a-na-šu-lu-ul E-MAŠ-MAŠ u ana šu-lu-ul êkallâti<sup>pl</sup>-ia lu ak-kis e-nu-ma*
- (31) *bît ilu Ištâr ša alu Ni-na-a bêlti-ia ina kaḫ-ḫar E-MAŠ-MAŠ bîti la-bi-ri*<sup>15</sup> *ša*<sup>m</sup> *Šam-ši-ilu Adad*
- (32) *šar mâtu Aš-šur rubû(u) alik*<sup>16</sup> *pa-ni-ia e-pu-uš bîtu šuâtu e-na-aḫ-ma la-be-ru-te*
- (33) *il-li-ik i-na gi-gal-lu-ti ša ilu NU . DIM . MUD bêli rabê(e) ina ma-uz-ni ra-pal-ti*
- (34) *ša ilu E-a iš-ru-ka ana*<sup>11</sup> *si-mat kar-ra-du-ti-ša ša ilu Ištâr bêlti-ia bîtu šu-a-tu*

13 Variants:—<sup>8</sup> Uncertain.  
 14 Omitted. <sup>14</sup> a added.

<sup>9</sup> ilu added.  
 15 ra.

<sup>10</sup> ta-an.  
 16 a-lik.

<sup>11</sup> a-na.

<sup>12</sup> be.

(35) *a-šar-šu u-me<sup>17</sup>-si dan-na-su ak-šu-ud ištu išdi-šu a-di gab-dib-šu ar-šip u-šik-lil*

(36) *eli maḥ-ri-e u-ša-tir E. AZAG a-ra-ta-a rabī-iš ana mu-šab i<sup>lu</sup>Ištar bēlti-ia ab-ni*

(37) *ilu-[ut-sa rabī]-tu ina ad-me-ni-ša ṭābi-iš u-še-šib lib ilu-ti-ša rabī-te<sup>18</sup> u-ṭi-ib*

(38) *[rubū arku]-u an-ḥu-su lu-<sup>19</sup>di-iš<sup>19</sup> šūmi(i) šaṭ-ra a-na ašri-šu lu-tir Aš-šur i<sup>lu</sup>Ištar*

(39) *[ilāni<sup>pl</sup>] rabūti<sup>pl</sup> ra-'mu-ut šarru-ti-ia bēlut-su ina nap-ḥar mātāti<sup>pl</sup> lu-šar-bu-u ina li-ti*

(40) *ki[š-šu-ti-ia u me-til-lu-ti l]<sup>i20</sup>-i[r]-ta-du-šu bilat kib-rat irbitti(ti) a-na iš-ki-šu*

(41) *lu-šat-li-mu-ma nu-uh-[šu] du-uh-du ḥe-gal-lu ana māti-šu lu-kin-nu*

(42) *ša šūmi(i) š[at-ra] i-pa-ši-ṭu-ma šūm-šu i-šaṭ-ṭa-ra [ina ašar šūmi(i)] i-šaṭ-ra i<sup>lu</sup>Adad gu-[ga]l šamē(e)*

(43) *u iršite<sup>21</sup>(te) i-nā<sup>21</sup> bir-ki la<sup>22</sup>-mut-te māt-su li-ib-ri-ik su-un-ḫu*

(44) *ni-ib-ri-tu ḥu-ša-ḫu a-na māti-šu li-dī.*

(1) Ashur-nasir-pal, the great king, the powerful king, the king of the world, the king of Assyria, the king of all the four regions, the sun of multitudes of people, (2) the prince, the priest of Ashur, the warrior-hero who walketh by the help of Ashur and Shamash and among the rulers of the four regions (3) hath no rival; who treadeth the tops of the mountains, with all wooded heights, subduing (4) those who are not submissive to Ashur, who . . . above and below, walking strait ways,<sup>1</sup> (5) finding a way in <sup>a</sup> difficulty: the king of the lands, the mighty one who in difficult ways (6) traverseth mountains and seas: the thoroughbred scion, the powerful king, who traṁpleth the wicked, (7) the shepherd of the four regions who hath implanted in all mankind one speech; the avenger of Assyria, (8) enlarging the boundary of his land; the king whose heart's desire Ashur hath made him to attain, and all his enemies (9) his true <sup>3</sup> hand hath overcome: king of kings, viceroy of Ashur, lord of lands, the king who glorifies the gods, the delight of the eyes (10) of Bēl. When Anu, Bēl, and Ea chose me and unto the rule of Assyria

Variants:—<sup>17</sup> Read thus, for *dis* in the text. <sup>18</sup> *ti*. <sup>19</sup> *diš*. <sup>20</sup> From *Annals*, 248, 50. <sup>21</sup> *tim ina*. <sup>22</sup> Cf. *Annals*, 108, 84.

1. Restored from B.M. squeeze E. 64, Le Gac 196, 5 . . . *-lik sa-an-ga-ni* . . . This may afford a value *san* for the character *šam*.

2. Text has *u* 'and.'

3. Or *e-šir-tu*, apparently a variant for *rabitu(tu)* (before *ḫat-su*, *Annals*, 267, 39).

proclaimed me, they conferred on me a throne, a sceptre, (11) a crown and staff, (and) sent me fiercely to rule (12) and subdue the lordship of all lands not submissive to Ashur: the warrior hero, chief of all counsellors,<sup>1</sup> trampling on the necks of princes<sup>1</sup>; (13) the glorious, the lord of lords, an overwhelming flood, receiving tribute and tax of all the lands; at (14) the shock of whose mighty weapons all lands tremble; he hath straitened (and) as with a *kiškittê* (15) he hath hunted: the opener of roads in mountains which like the point of a dagger pierce the sky; (16) who like the brilliance of the sun, the god as he approacheth (?) o'er his land is spread abroad, and saveth<sup>2</sup> his people in security: (17) the son of Tukulti-Ninurta, viceroy of Bêl, priest of Ashur, who hath destroyed all his foes and impaled (18) the bodies of his enemies on stakes: grandson of Adad-nirari, the vice-regent of the great gods, who hath accomplished (19) the overthrow of those not friendly to him, and hath no rival; conquering from across (20) the river Tigris as far as Lebanon and the great sea of (A)murri of the setting sun: (21) whose hand the land of Hâtî to its whole extent hath conquered. From the headwaters of the river Subnat (22) as far as the land of Urume, the broad lands of Nairi throughout its borders have I overcome: Lakê (23) to its whole extent have I captured: (from) Suhi as far as Rapiki unto my feet have I subdued: (24) from the Pass of Kirruri to Gilzani, from the Pass of the town of Babite to Namri, (25) unto the people of my land have I counted: from across the Lower Zab as far as the city of Tul-bâri which is above the land of Zaban, (26) as far as the city of Tul-ša-Zabîani and the city of Tul-ša-Abtani, the city of Hîrimu, the city of Hîarutu, (27) the fortresses of Karduniaš, unto the boundaries of my land I added. (28) 50,000 troops I assembled; to Mehri I went: Mehri to its whole extent (29) my hands conquered. Beams for Ishtar of Nineveh, my lady, (30) to roof E-Mashmash and to roof my palaces I cut down. When (31) the Temple of Ishtar of Nineveh, my lady, within the grounds of E-Mashmash, the old temple which Shamshi-Adad, (32) the king of Assyria, a prince who preceded me, built—that temple decayed and went (33) to ruin. In the guidance of Nudimmud, the great lord, in the cleverness (34) which Ea hath given (me), for the glory of the bravery of Ishtar, my lady, of that temple (35) its place I cleared, its base I reached, from its foundation to its roof I constructed (and) completed (it), (36) making it larger than it was

1. *Maliki, malki*. There must surely be some difference in meaning.  
 2. *Tabdû = šuzubu, C.T., XVIII, 10.*



before. I built up the shrine solidly, for the dwelling of Ishtar, my lady, I erected (it): (37) [her great] divinity within her abode peacefully I installed, pleasing the heart of her great divinity. (35) [Let (some) future prince] restore its ruins, my written name to its place may he restore; may Ashur (and) Ishtar, (39) the great [gods], who love my royalty, increase his rule throughout the whole world: with [my victorious] (40) might [and majesty] may they conduct him (and) tribute of the four regions as his portion (41) may they grant and plenty, increase, (and) luxuriance may they bestow on his land. (42) He who shall erase my [written] name and shall write his own name [in its place], may Adad, the controller of the sky (43) and earth, blast his land with destructive lightning, bringing (44) want, famine, (and) hunger on his land.

Here may be added the description of nine texts of a frequent type of marble inscription of Ashur-našir-pal, beginning with a preamble (as is described in *A.A.A.*, 94, cf. No. 6), and quoting from l. 19 onwards with variations in the big inscription (No. P (1), and see also *A.A.A.*, 94, No. 8). It is not worth while including the text here, a brief catalogue being all that is necessary. They were found frequently about 3' above the *libn* foundation, or in the earth round about, or re-used in later buildings.

1. Found near the big Ashur-našir-pal sculpture: (1-2, preamble: remainder=ll. 19-24 of the big inscription).

2. S+1; 2' 3"×3' 0"=ll. 25-27, followed by (10) [*E-n*]u-ma bīt ilu Ištar ša [*ālu* Ninā] (11) [*bēli-i*]a ša ilu Šam-ši-[*ilu* Adad šar mātu Aššur] (12) rubā(u) a-[*lik*] (13) [*pa-ni-i*]a epuš(uš) ašar-[*šu u-me-si*] (14) ištu ušši-šu adi gab-d[*ib-bi-šu*] (15) . . . u-š[*ak-lil*].

3. I+2; 2' 3"×2' 0"=ll. 27-35.

4. I+1; 1' 1½"×1' 5½", characters 2" high. Obv. 1-3, preamble; remainder=ll. 20-21; rev.=ll. 30-35.

5. I+1; 1' 1½"×1' 10½", characters 2" high. Obv. 1-3, preamble; remainder=ll. 19-21; rev.=ll. 26-35.

6. 1' 7"×1' 5½"×4½", lines 1½" apart. 1-3, preamble; remainder=ll. 19-21.

7. I+2; 9½"×1' 7½"×4½", characters 1½". Obv.=ll. 31-33; rev.=ll. 31-35.

8. I, 2; 1' 2"×9½"×4", characters 1½": =l. 35.

9. I, 2; 1' 8"×1' 3½"×4", characters 1½": as in No. 2 above, representing remains of ll. 12-15 in No. 2.

(2) No. 171 (Pl. LXXVII). Marble slab mentioning the city of Hataru. Probably Ashur-našir-pal.

(3) No. 182 (Pl. LXXVII). Marble slab mentioning . . . *Aš-šur* (obv. 3), and [*Šamši*]-*ilu* *Adad* (?) (rev. 1).

(4) No. 306 (Pl. LXXXIX). Votive limestone slab, probably dedicated to Ishtar by Ashur-našir-pal.

(1) . . . [*šangē ilu* *Aš*]-*šur ni-ši-it a-bi-ki* (2) . . . [*a*]-*r-ḫi pa-aš-ku-te ki-šir* (3) . . . *kul-lat la ma-gi-ri-šu* (4) . . . *ilu* *Ištar*.

(1) . . . [priest of] Ashur, the delight of thy father (2) . . . difficult roads . . . (3) [overwhelming] all that are not obedient to him (4) . . . Ishtar.

(5) No. 305 (Pl. LXXXIX). Marble slab, probably recording Ashur-našir-pal's restoration of the Temple.

(6) No. 265 (Pl. LXXXIII). Ashur-našir-pal (?).

(7) No. 304 (Pl. LXXXIX). Marble slab.

(1) *m**Aš-šur-našir-apli* (2) *šarru dan-nu* (3) *šar kiššati šar mātu* *Aššur* (4) *šar kul-lat* (5) *kib-rat* (6) *irbitti(ti)* (7) *mur-te-du-u ka-liš mā[tātu]* (8) *apil* (etc.).

(1) Ashur-našir-pal, (2) the powerful king, (3) the king of multitudes, king of Assyria, (4) king of all (5) the four (6) regions (7) subduing (8) entirely (9) the lands . . . (10) son of (etc.).

#### Q. *Shalmaneser III*, c. 859-824 B.C.

(1) No. 302 (Pl. LXXXIX). From internal evidence this small and delicate inscription, on hard limestone carved in the round, must belong to this king. The lands of Suḫna, Gilzanu, Hupuškia, Parsua, Abda[na] and Tukliaš are among the lands conquered, and at the end he mentions sacrifices to the god(s) in Borsippa.

. . . (1) *sur-ru . . . u-* . . . (2) *ša šangā-su eli [ilāni iṭibu-ma mātāti naphar-šina ana šepa<sup>II</sup>-šu]* (3) *u-šik-ni-šu nab-[ni-tu ellitu ša mTukulti-Ninurta ša kullat zairišu]* (4) *i-ni-ru-ma iš-[pu-nu abubaniš . . . ištu]* (5) *tam-dī šapli-ta ša . . .* (6) [*a-d*]*i tam-dī ša mātuN[a-i-ri]* . . . (7) *ištu riš e-ni ša nā[rū]Idiḫlat adi riš eni ša nāruPuratti ištu mātuEnzite* (8) *a-dī mātuSu-uh-na* . . . . (9) [*mātu*] *Gil-za-nu mātuHu-pu-uš-[ki-a]* . . . (10) . . . *aš-gi-iš ištu* . . . . (11) *mātuPar-su-a mātuAb-da-[na]* (12) *mātuTuk-li-ia-aš mātu* . . . (13) *šu-a-ti akšud(ud) a-na* . . . (14) *aluBar-sabki* . . . (15) *nikēpl a-na ilu* . . . (16) *unakki(ki)* . . .

R. *Sennacherib*, 705-681 B.C.

(1) No. 261 (Pl. LXXXI). Marble slab of Sennacherib (705-681 B.C.).

(1) [*E*]kal *m*iluSin-aḫēpl-eriba (2) [šarru] rabû šar kiš-ša-ti (3) [šar] mātuAš-šur dan-dan-nu (4) [e]-mid kal mal-ki.

(1) 'Palace of Sennacherib, (2) the great [king], the king of multitudes, (3) the king of Assyria, the most powerful, the subduer of all princes.'

(2) No. 262 (Pl. LXXXI). Limestone slab of Sennacherib.

(3) No. 271 (Pl. LXXXIV). Sennacherib.

S. *Uncertain*.

(1) Nos. 273, 274 (Pl. LXXXVII). Inscription in red limestone, much mutilated.

(2) No. 263 (Pl. LXXXII). Uncertain.

(3) No. 269 (Pl. LXXXIII). Obelisk (?).

(4) No. 303 (Pl. LXXXIX). Uncertain.

## BRICK INSCRIPTIONS

T. *Tukulti-Ninurta*, c. 1250 B.C.

(1) Nos. 275, 276, 282 (No. 277 gives only the first part) (Pl. LXXXVIII).

*m*Tukulti(ti)-iluNinurta šar kiššati apil iluŠulmanu(ma-(nu))-ašarid šar kiššati-ma epiš bît iluIštar dam-ki-dam . . ša(?) âluNi-nu-a.

Tukulti-Ninurta, the king of multitudes, the son of Shalmaneser, the king of multitudes also : the builder of the Temple of Ishtar-beautiful of Nineveh.

(2) No. 297 (Pl. LXXXIX) mutilated. No. 300 apparently similar.

U. *Ashur-rîsh-îshi*, c. 1120 B.C.

(1) Nos. 279, 280 (Pl. LXXXVIII).

Ekal *m*Aš-šur-rîš-i-ši ni-bi-it iluA-[nim] ka-šid la ma-gi-ri mu-še-ik-ni-šu gi-mir al-tu-[ti] šarru dannu šar kiššati šar mātu[Aš-šur] apil Mu-tak-kil-[iluNusku] šar *m*[âtuAš-šur] apil Aš-šur-dân [šar mātuAš-šur-ma] ša ekallu . . ša âluNi-n[a-a] . . . .

Palace of Ashur-rîsh-îshi, proclaimed by A[nu], conquering the disobedient, subduing all evildoers : the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of [Assyria], son of Mutakkil-[Nusku], king of [Assyria], son of Ashur-dân, [king of Assyria also] : who the palace . . of Nineveh [hath built ?].

(2) No. 278 (Pl. LXXXVIII). Different from Nos. 279, 280, but with little remaining.

V. *Tiglath-Pileser I*, c. 1100 B.C.

(1) Nos. 281, 284, 285, 287 (Pl. LXXXVIII). (Cf. *Arch.*, No. 55; *A.A.A.*, 98, No. 25.)

*Ekal mTukulti-apli-E-šar-ra šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur*<sup>1</sup> *ša ki-sir-te*<sup>2</sup>  
*ša nâri ik-sir . . ša išu kirî ša alu [Ni-na-a] (iš-tu*<sup>3</sup> *ri-ši a-na e- . . .).*

Palace of Tiglath-Pileser, king of multitudes, king of Assyria, who hath dammed the dam of the river . . of the gardens of [Nineveh] (from the top to the . . .).

(2) Nos. 283, 288 (Pl. LXXXVIII). (Cf. *Arch.*, No. 55, without the ending.)

W. *Ashur-našir-pal*, c. 883-859 B.C.

(1) Nos. 289, 290, 294, 295 (Pls. LXXXVIII-LXXXIX). Restoration of the Temple of Ishtar. Dup. of *Arch.*, No. 56. No. 296 omits *aršip*; Nos. 291, 293, similar, omitting the verbs (perhaps 'property' to be restored before 'Temple of Ishtar').

(2) No. 292 (Pl. LXXXVIII).

(1) *Ekal mAššur-našir-apli . . .* (2) *šar kiššati šar mātu Aššur*.

(1) Palace of Ashur-našir-pal . . . (2) king of multitudes, king of Assyria.

(3) No. 299 (Pl. LXXXIX). Dup. of *A.A.A.*, 26.

X. *Shalmaneser III*, c. 859-824 B.C.

(1) Text not given: BB, 4, on edge ( $13\frac{1}{8}'' \times 5\frac{7}{8}'' \times 4\frac{1}{8}''$ ); CC, O, edge  $4\frac{1}{2}''$ , breadth  $6''$ ; and in two ll.,  $1' 1'' \times 1' 1'' \times 3\frac{7}{8}''$ . Same as *Arch.*, No. 64.

Y. *Adad-nirari*, c. 811-782 B.C.

(1) Text not given: O, O: O, O: same text as *A.A.A.*, 100, No. 39, on edge, both  $4\frac{3}{4}''$ , reading *u-šak-li-lu* in last line.

(2) Q, 4, Ch. 6 (loose earth), edge  $4\frac{3}{8}''$ ; W, 18, edge  $4\frac{1}{4}''$ ; Q+2, edge  $4\frac{1}{8}''$ . Same as *Arch.*, No. 68, adding *šakin iu Bêl* in the third line in the two last mentioned, Q, 4, being broken here. W, 18, omits the latter half of the sign *nirari*.

1. *Arch.*, No. 55 and No. 281, add the parentage.

2. An improvement on my *kiširte* in *Arch.*, as pointed out by Weidner, *Archiv f. Orientf.*, VII, 280.

3. *Iš-tu* is doubtful.

Z. *Sennacherib*, c. 705-681 B.C.

(1) No. 298 (Pl. LXXXIX).

(1) *Dûru u šal-hu-u ša aluNinua<sup>ki</sup>* (2) *ša i-na mah-ri e-te-ip-šu*  
(3) [<sup>m</sup>] *iluSin-ahêpl-[eriba šar] mâtūAššur* (4) *eššis(?) u-še-piš-ma [u-zak-kir]*  
*hur-ša-niš*

The wall and rampart of Nineveh, which had been built aforetime, I, Sennacherib, [king] of Assyria, built afresh (?) and raised as high as the mountains.

(2) Text not given : PP, 2, on edge ( $12\frac{3}{4}''$  (?)  $\times 5\frac{1}{4}'' \times 3\frac{3}{4}''$ ) (B). Similar to *Arch.*, No. 81. M, 6, on face ( $14'' \times 14'' \times 5\frac{1}{2}''$ ). Similar to *Arch.*, No. 81, with *SIS* for *KUR* and *eri-ba*.

AA. *Esarhaddon*, 680-668 B.C.

No. 301 (Pl. LXXXIX). (Found near a large circular upper millstone of limestone from BB, 7, not *in situ*, flat on one side, convex on the other, diam. 2' 7", about 1' high, near the Temple of Ishtar, where there were later buildings; having a square hole 6" diam. in centre. Lower millstone found CC+2, limestone, diam. 3' 10", thickest part about 9"; circular groove in face 3" wide, the area outside groove being 3" to 4" wide.)

(1) *Ana-ku mAššur-ahî-iddin šarru rabû(u) šarru dan-nu šar kiššati*  
*šar mâtūAššur* (2) *te-ni-e lib(?) ir(?) -šu(?) -ti ki-rib(?) ša(?)* (3) *aluša Ninua<sup>ki</sup>*  
*eššis(?) epuš(uš(?)).*

I, Esarhaddon, the great king, the powerful king, king of multitudes, king of Assyria; the mill in the midst (?) of the gardens (?) amid (?) Nineveh I made anew (?).





1



2



3



4

# TEMPLE OF ISHTAR.

1. EXTREME W. CORNER LOOKING E.; EDGE OF LIBN FOUNDATION. IN FRONT, EARLIER LIBN BUILDING.
2. SURFACE OF LIBN LOOKING E. SECTIONS CC, DD, EE, LIBN WALLING 'T. + 5' 6" VISIBLE IN L. CENTRE.
3. LIBN PAVEMENTS AFTER ASHUR-NASIR-PAL IN OO ('LIBN PT. T. + 1' 0"') LOOKING SE.
4. SURFACE OF LIBN LOOKING W. ACROSS SECTIONS JJ, II, O. ASHUR-NASIR-PAL'S SCULPTURE IN L. CENTRE.





2



4



1



3

1. BUILDING WITH LION WALLS IN SECTIONS W-X AT -20' 0" LOOKING NW.
2. AS NO. 1: THE E. WALL LOOKING N.
3. NO. III PAVEMENT IN GREAT COURTYARD OF TEMPLE, PRESUMABLY XTH CENTURY B.C. REMAINS OF NO. II VISIBLE C. 1 FOOT HIGHER. LOOKING W. ACROSS SECTION OO.
4. DRAIN AT N. CORNER OF GREAT COURTYARD IN PAVEMENT NO. III (ON R. OF PHOTO. NO. 3) LOOKING N. ACROSS SECTION OO. REMAINS OF PAVEMENT NO. II (5 BRICKS) IN BACKGROUND.





2



4

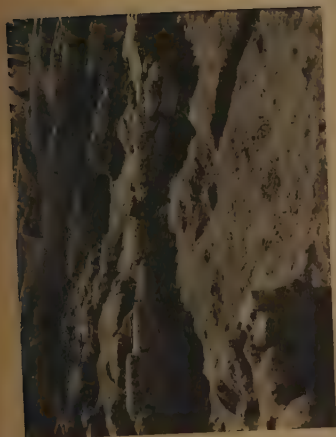


3

1. BRICK PAVEMENT OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL INSCRIBED WITH HIS NAME AND HIS REPAIRS TO TEMPLE BETWEEN SECTIONS S-R LOOKING W. SEE PLATE L, 4.
2. VAULTED TOMB IN SECTION N, NO. 1 (NE. FRONT), LOOKING SW.
3. VAULTED TOMB, NOS. 5 AND 4 (SE. FRONT), LOOKING NW.
4. UPTURNED BOWLS (PREHISTORIC) BELOW FRONT OF VAULT 4. SECTION N -25' 0".



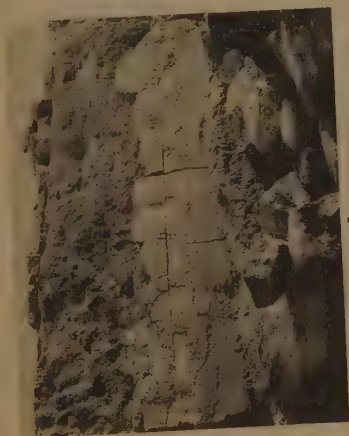




1



2



3

1. LATE BUILDING IN SECTIONS NN-CC +4' 0", LOOKING E., WITH OIL-PRESS ON R. AND CEMENT FLOOR (PRESUMED XIIIth CENTURY AFTER CHRIST) HIGH LEFT.

2. PRESUMED ROMANO-PARTHIAN BUILDING IN SECTIONS K-Q LOOKING S. (CHAMBER 4).

3. SCULPTURE OF ASHUR-NABIR-PAL IN TEMPLE BETWEEN SECTIONS O-S (NW. FACE).

4. BUILDING (PRESUMED XIIIth CENTURY AFTER CHRIST) OF CEMENT AND STONES IN MM -5' 6" LOOKING SE.





1



2



3



4

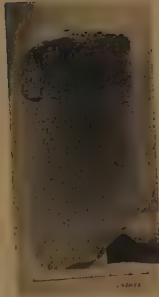
- 1 AND 2. LIFE-SIZED COPPER HEAD, C. 3000 B.C., FROM SECTION W.  
 3. CELLAR IN SECTION T IN LIBN OF TEMPLE WITH 'STEPPED' SIDES, LOOKING N.  
 4. BRICK PAVEMENT OF ASHUR-NASIR-PAL, INSCRIBED WITH HIS NAME; SECTIONS S-R OF TEMPLE. CF. PLATE XLVIII, 1.







1



2



3



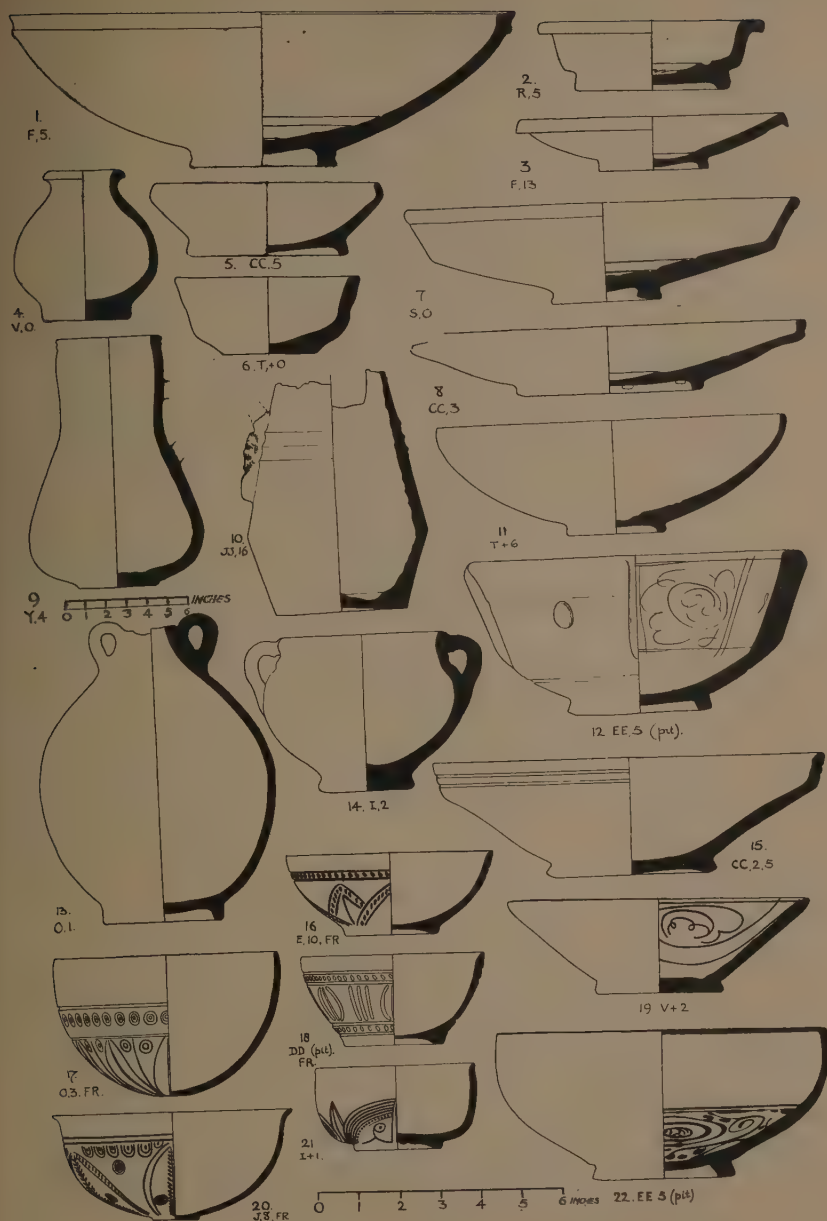
4



5

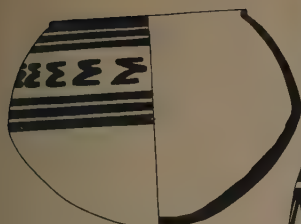
1. ROMANO-PARTHIAN SCULPTURE.
2. STONE CYLINDER OF SHAMSHI-ADAD I FROM SECTION W.
3. LATE HELMET FROM SECTION MM-5'0".
4. ALABASTER VESSEL (TWO LIONS) FROM BETWEEN SECTIONS OO-DD.
5. LIMESTONE CAPITAL.





GLAZED, INCISED, AND PLAIN POTTERY.

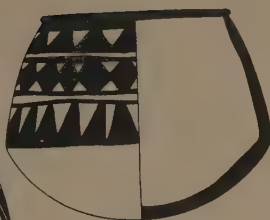




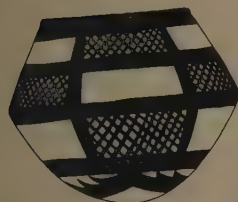
1 N.12.10.



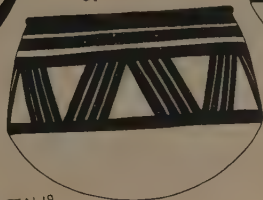
6. CC.17. (B)



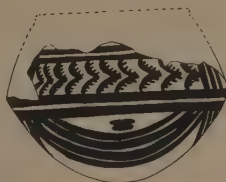
11 V.15 (B)



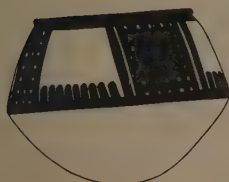
2. CC.18



7 N.18



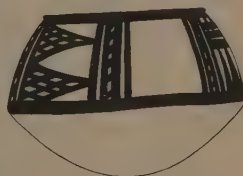
12 R.13



3 CC.17.



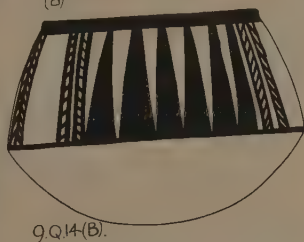
8 N.10.  
(B)



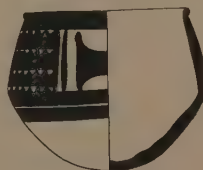
13. CC 16(B)



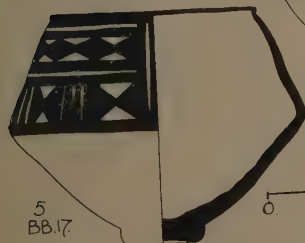
4 CC.17.



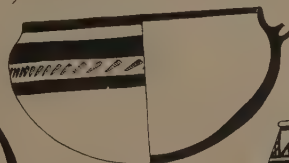
9 Q.14.(B).



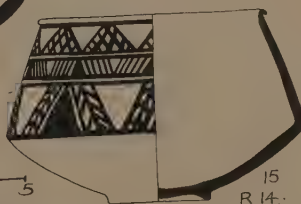
14 O.8.(B)



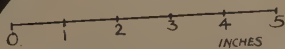
5  
BB.17



10. Q.14.

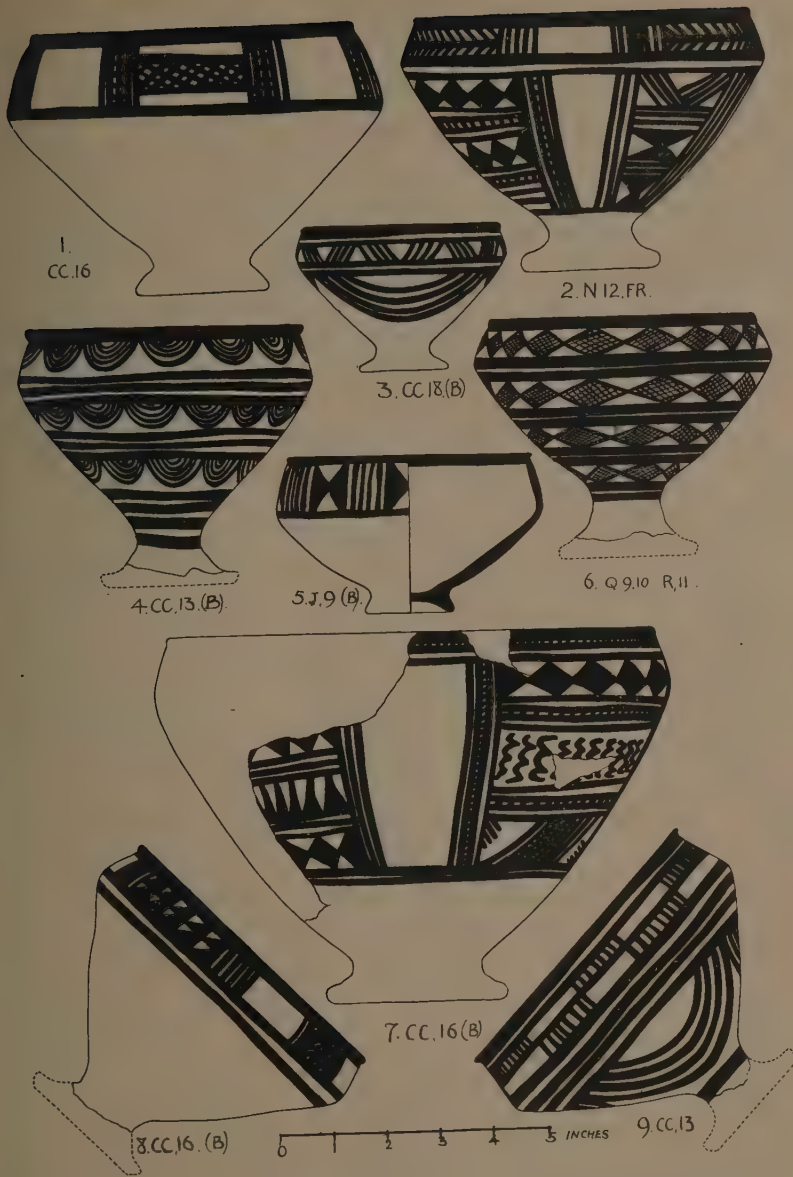


15  
R 14.



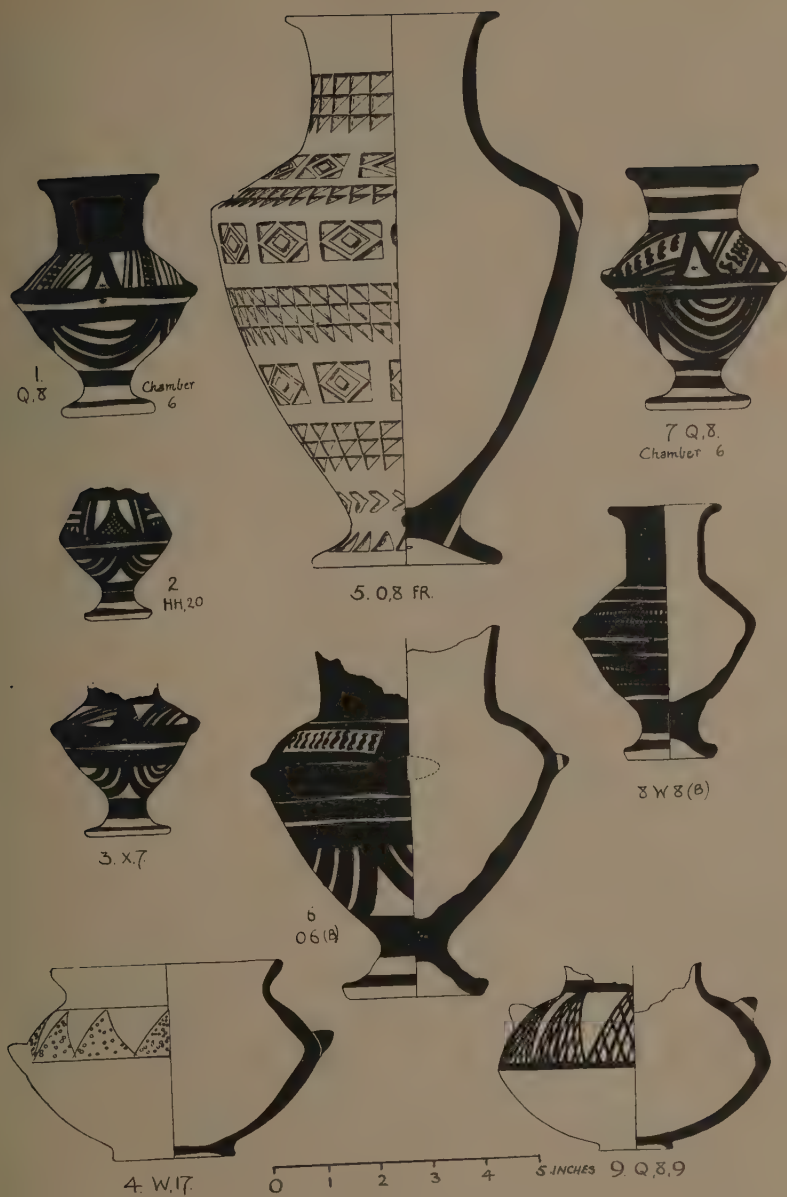






PAINTED POTTERY





PAINTED AND INCISED POTTERY





1 X.7 (B)



2 X.10



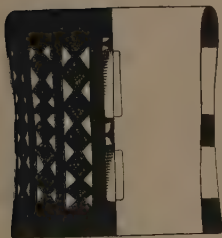
3 X.5.10



4 Q.5



5 Q.3. (Chambers 1-2). (B)



6 W.7 FRAGMENTS

0 1 2 3 4 5 6 INCHES



7 Q.5 (B)

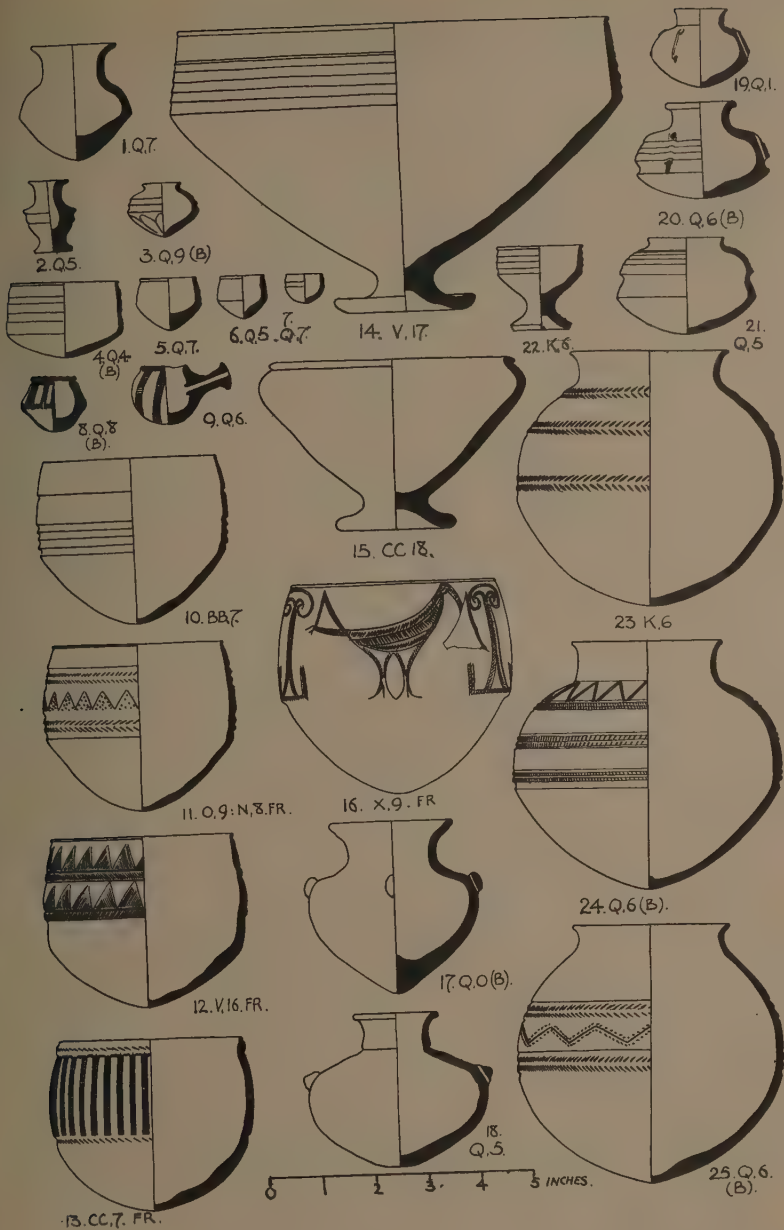




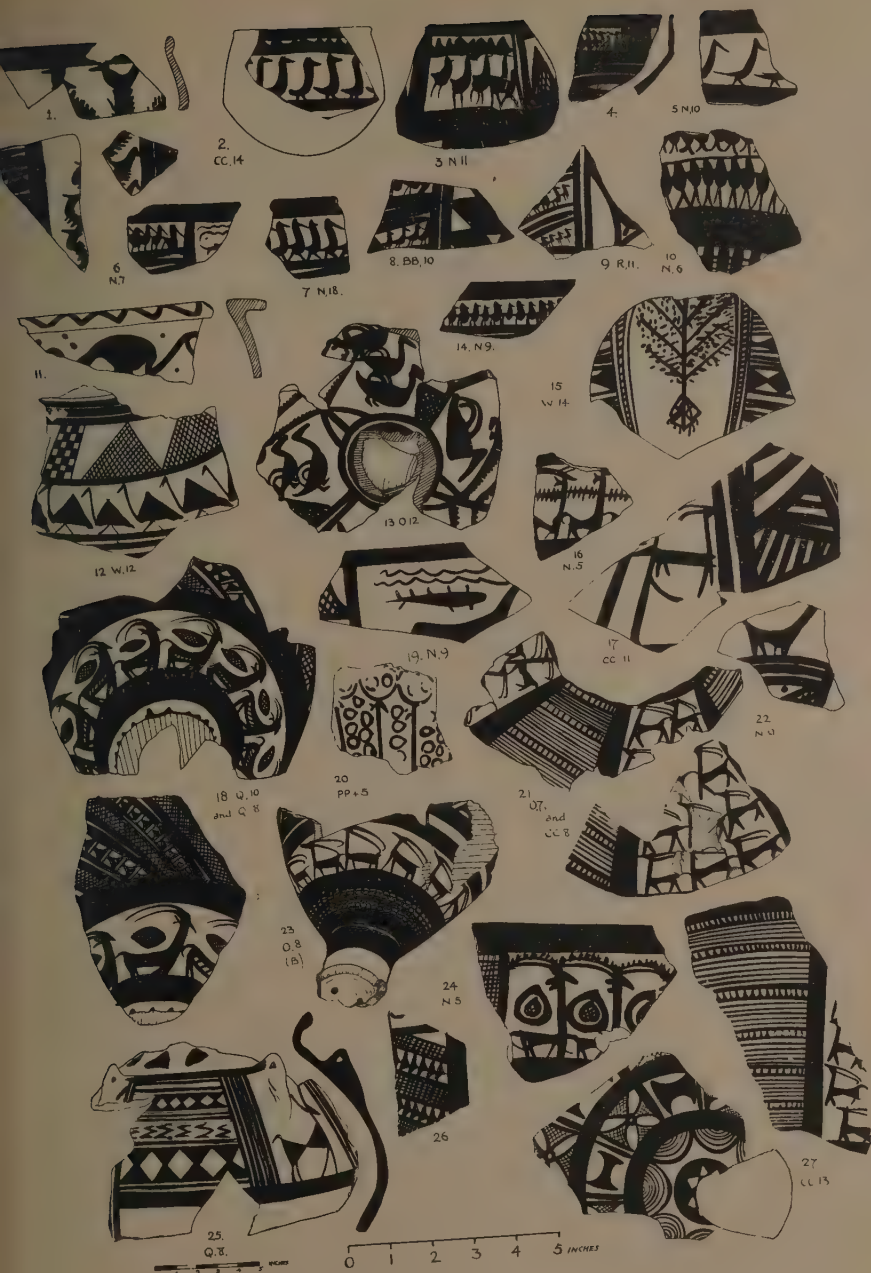


PAINTED POTTERY





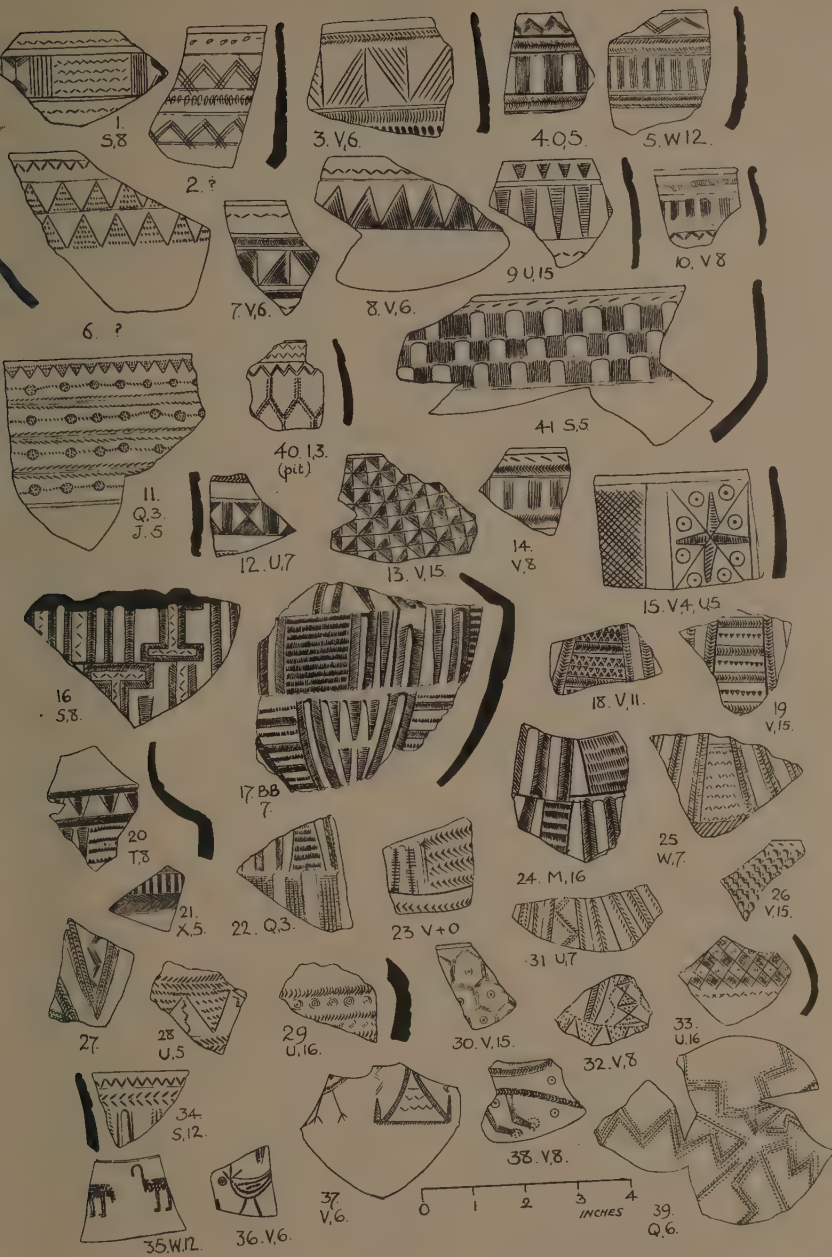




PAINTED POTTERY (IBEX, BIRDS, FISH, ETC.)

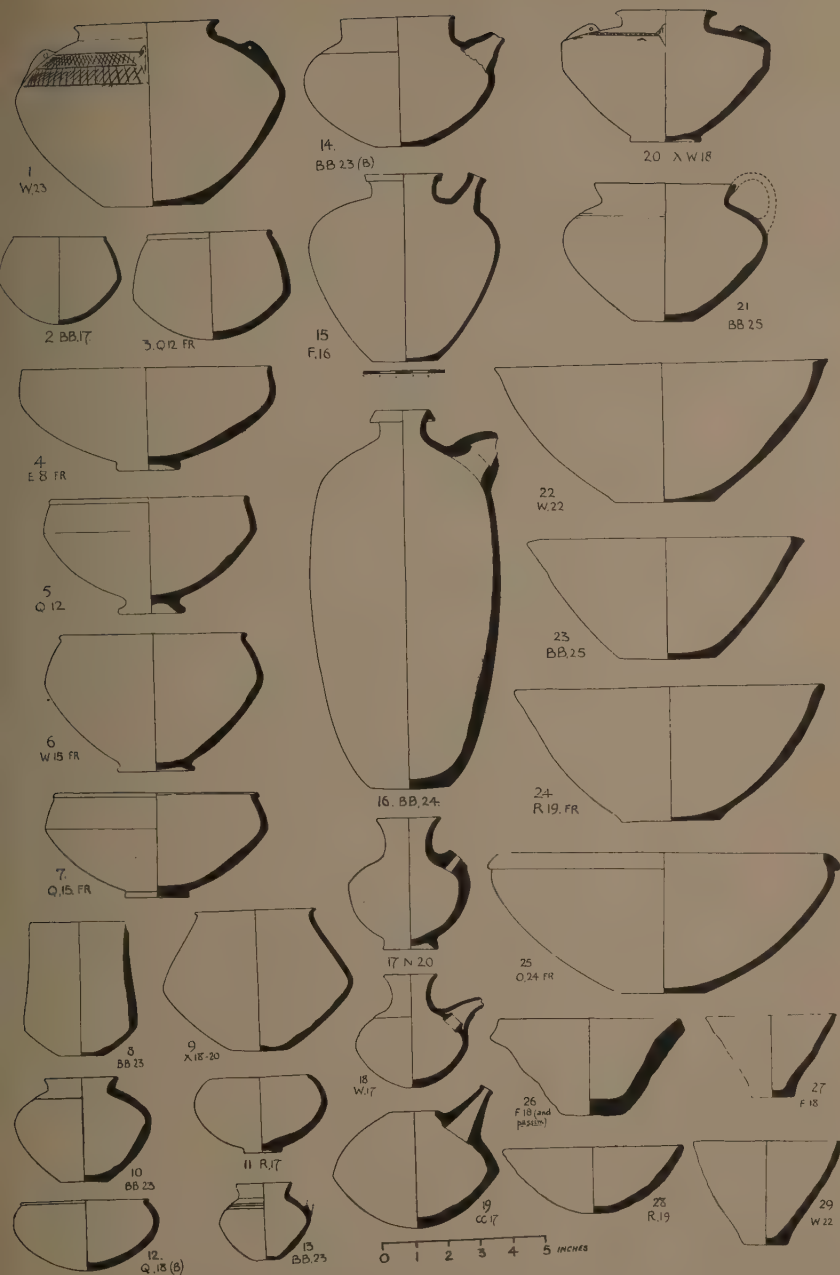






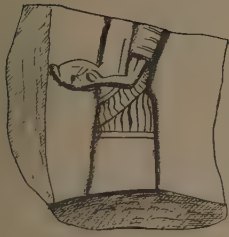
INCISED POTTERY





PLAIN POTTERY

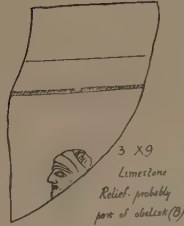




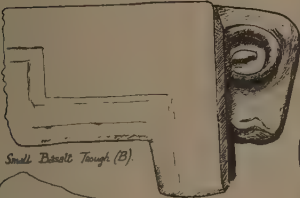
1. Basalt Relief (B)  
Probably part of obelisk



2. 1+2 Basalt Relief (B)  
Probably part of obelisk



3 X 9  
Limestone  
Relief, probably  
part of obelisk (B)



4. Small Basalt Trough (B)



5 E.4 Small Basalt Trough (B)



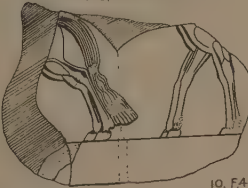
6 Basalt figure, near Temple,  
surface 4 1/2 x 5 1/2"



7. Surface of Mound  
Limestone, 3 1/2 x 5" (B)



8 JO (B)



9. Q.A. 3 x 4 1/2 and 3 1/2 x 3 1/2  
Limestone (Two faces of an obelisk) (B)



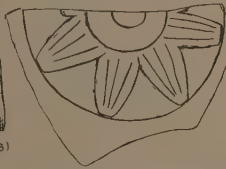
10. F.A. Sculpture of soldier's  
helmet and bow (B)



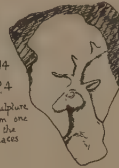
11. M.M.O. Limestone Relief  
approximately two inches thick (B). Scale unless otherwise stated



12. 1, O. White stone (B)



13. O.G. Piece of limestone sundisk (B)

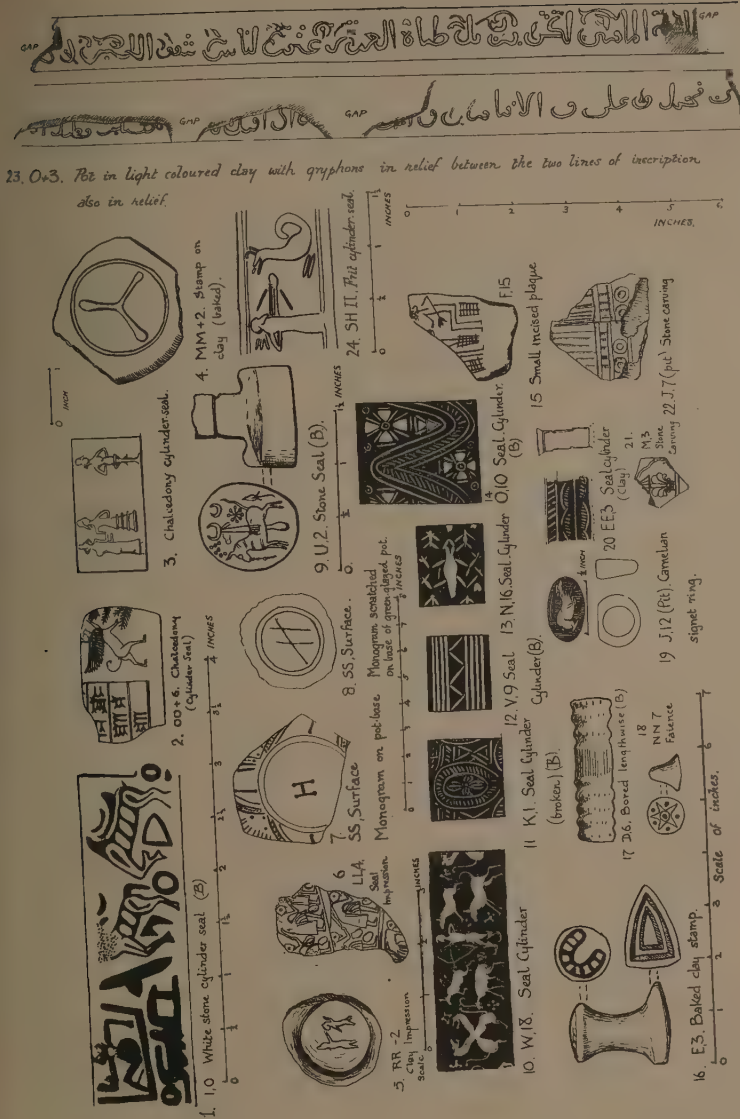


14  
P.4  
Sculpture  
from one  
of the  
places

inches







CYLINDER SEALS, IMPRESSIONS, ETC.





1. S,1. Alabaster.



2. H,19 (SW. edge 33', S.E. edge 23')

Alabaster.



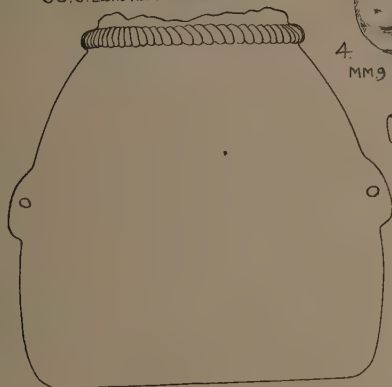
OO,6. Lion's head. Alabaster.



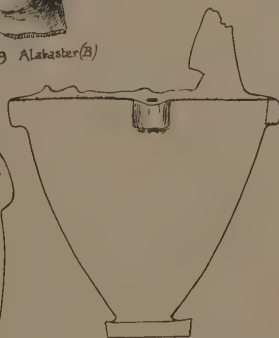
3. U,10 Bull's head carved in white stone (B).



4. MM,9 Alabaster (B)



5. W,7. Alabaster.

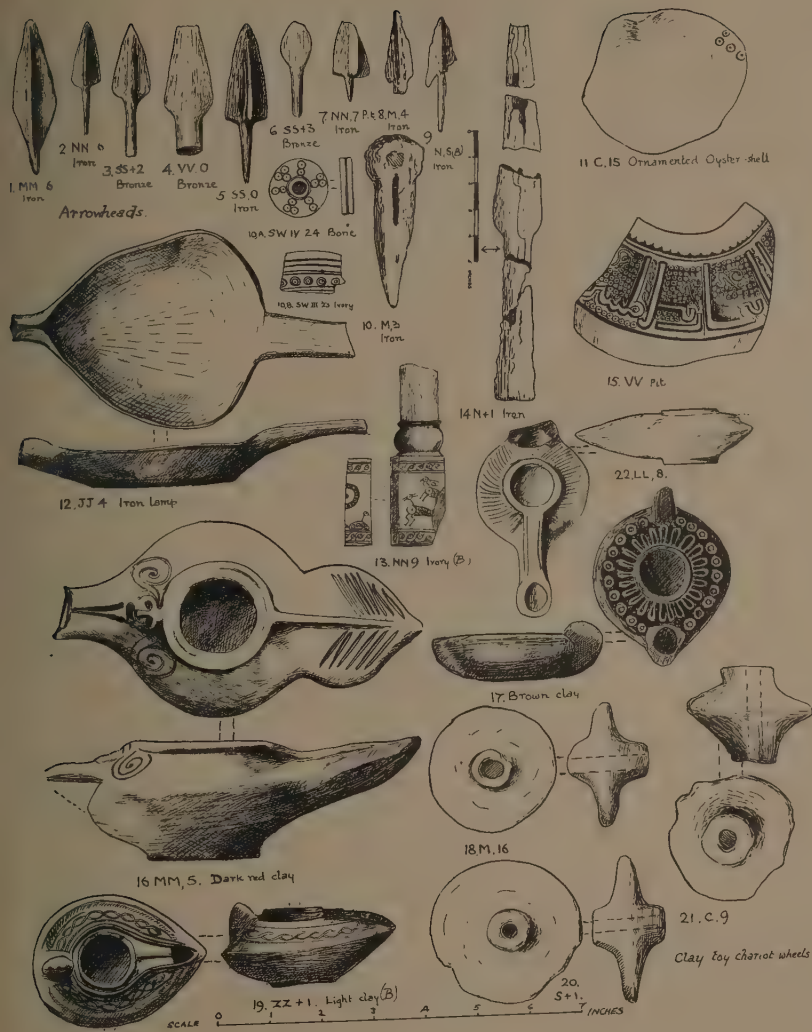


6. W,8 Alabaster.



ALABASTER

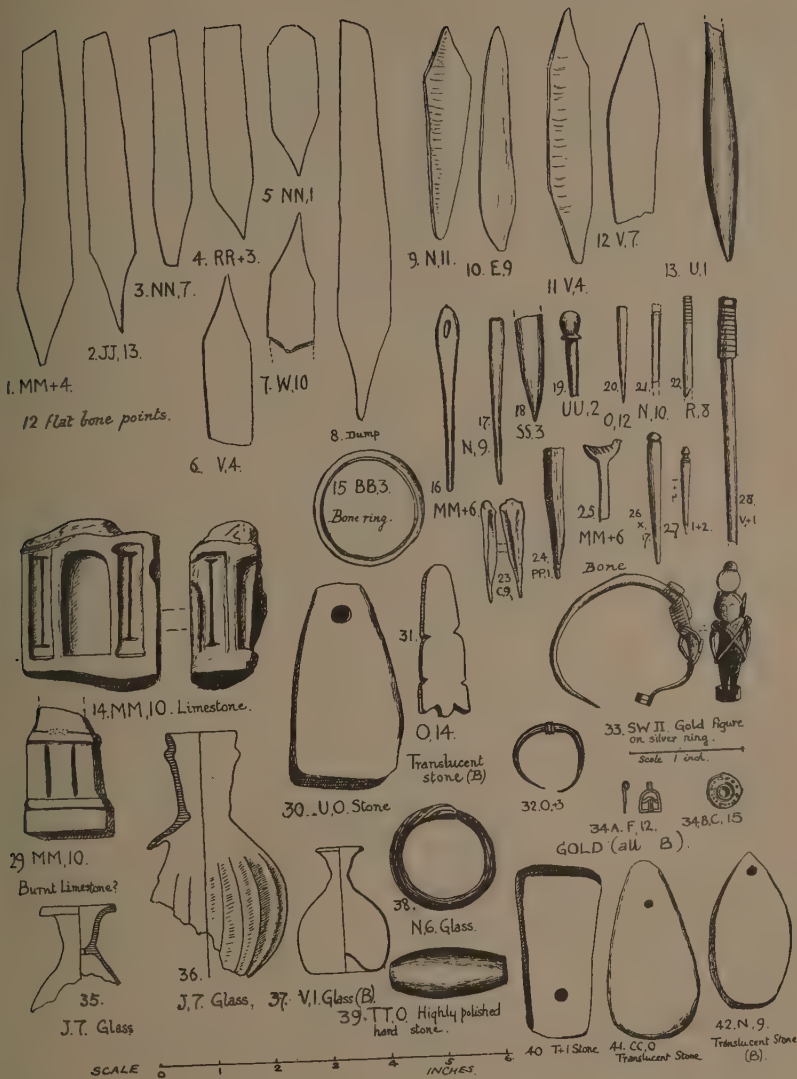




ARROWHEADS, LAMPS, ETC.







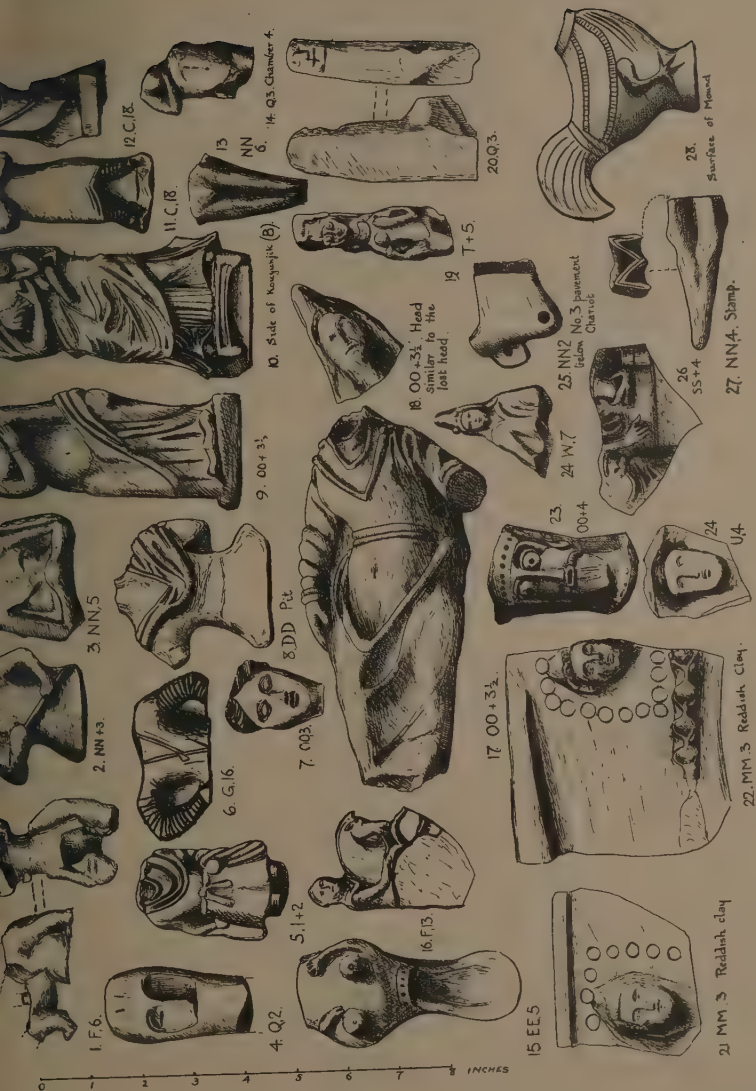
BONE POINTS, GLASS, GOLD, ETC.





FIGURINES IN BAKED CLAY

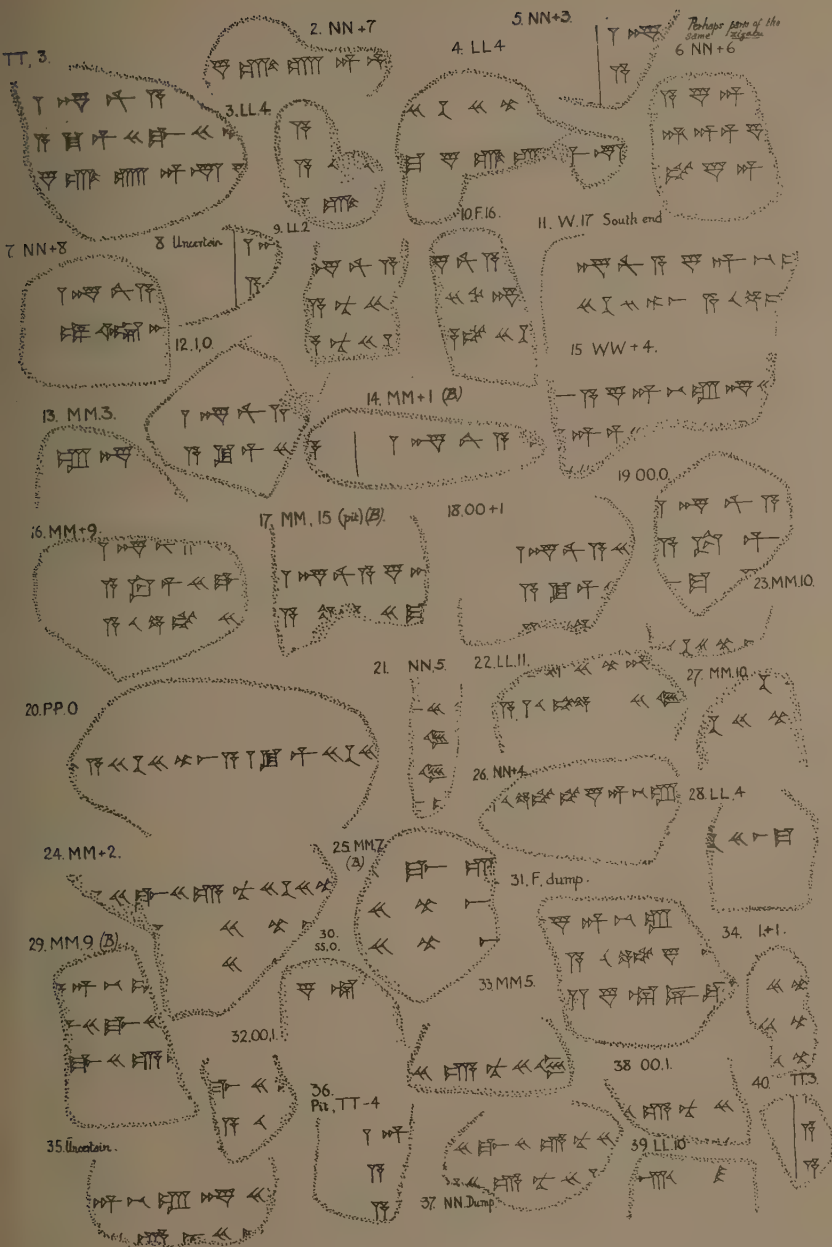




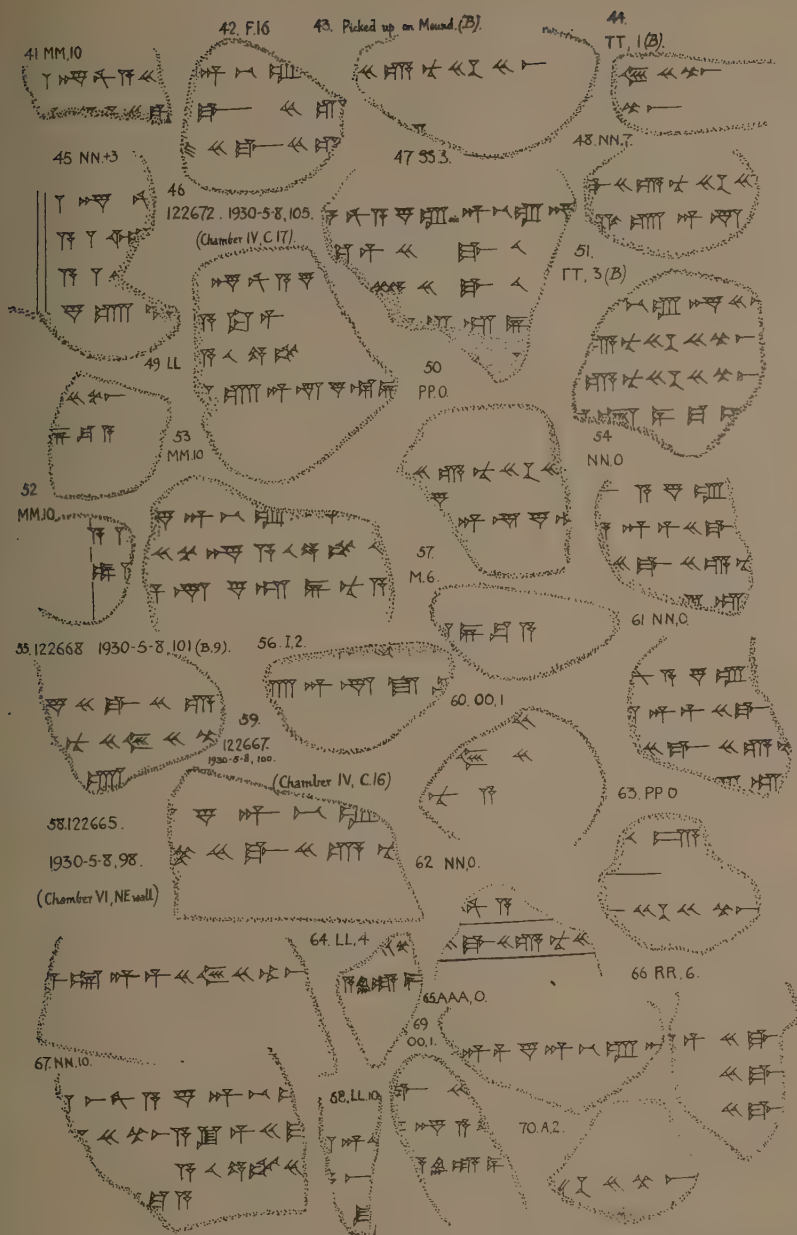
FIGURINES IN BAKED CLAY



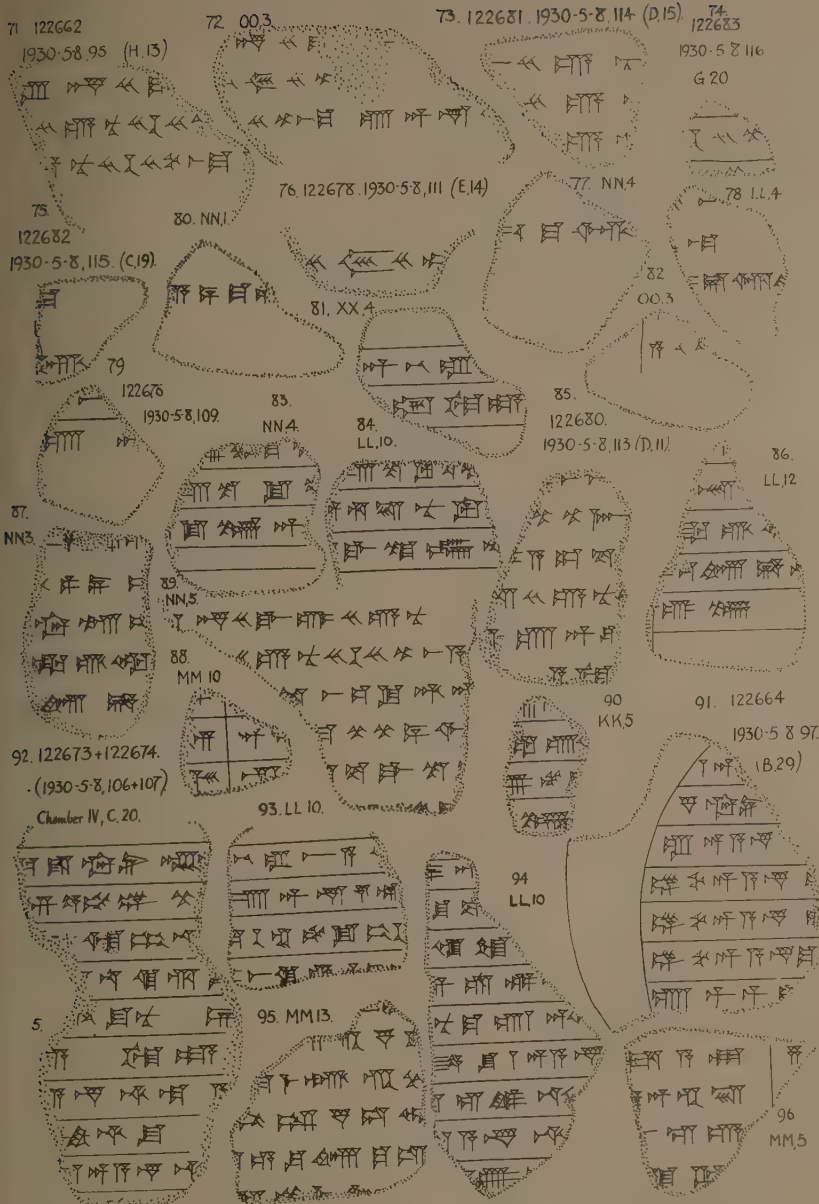
















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99.55, near surface

99. S5.  
near surface

卷之四

卷之六

[illegible]

③ 11 adds

100. 12670

1930-58. 103

圖本  
A12

[illegible]

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*boghu*

卷之四

十、理學長爲政三原則

Hilms

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電  
火  
水

ZIGĀTĪ INSCRIPTIONS



102. A.6.

103.

104.

105. PP, dump

106

122666

1930-5-8, 99 (A.15)

2

108 LL.5.

109 卷一

LL 10

107

LL 13.

112

TT. 2

SHI.3

5

114

F.15

5

115

NN.6

1

119  $NN+4$ 116  
MM, C

122677.  
1930-5-8.110  
(A.9).

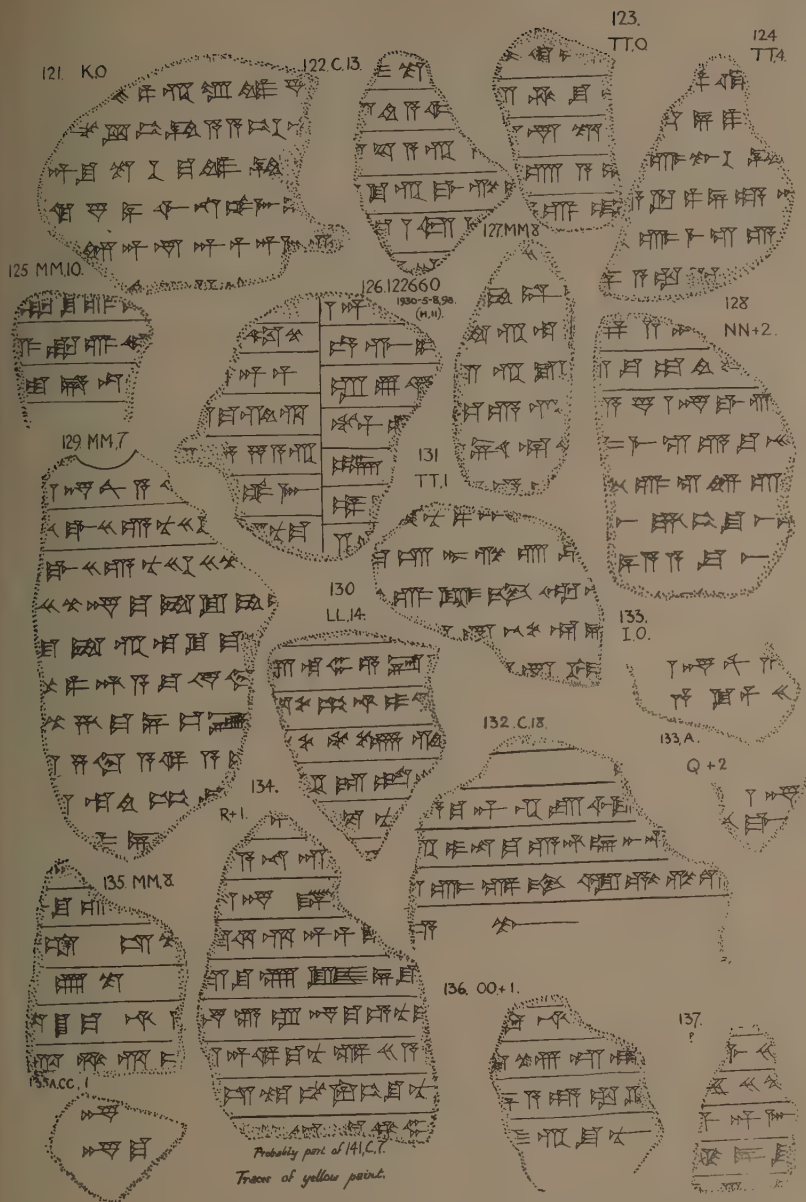
118

MM. (Dump)

120

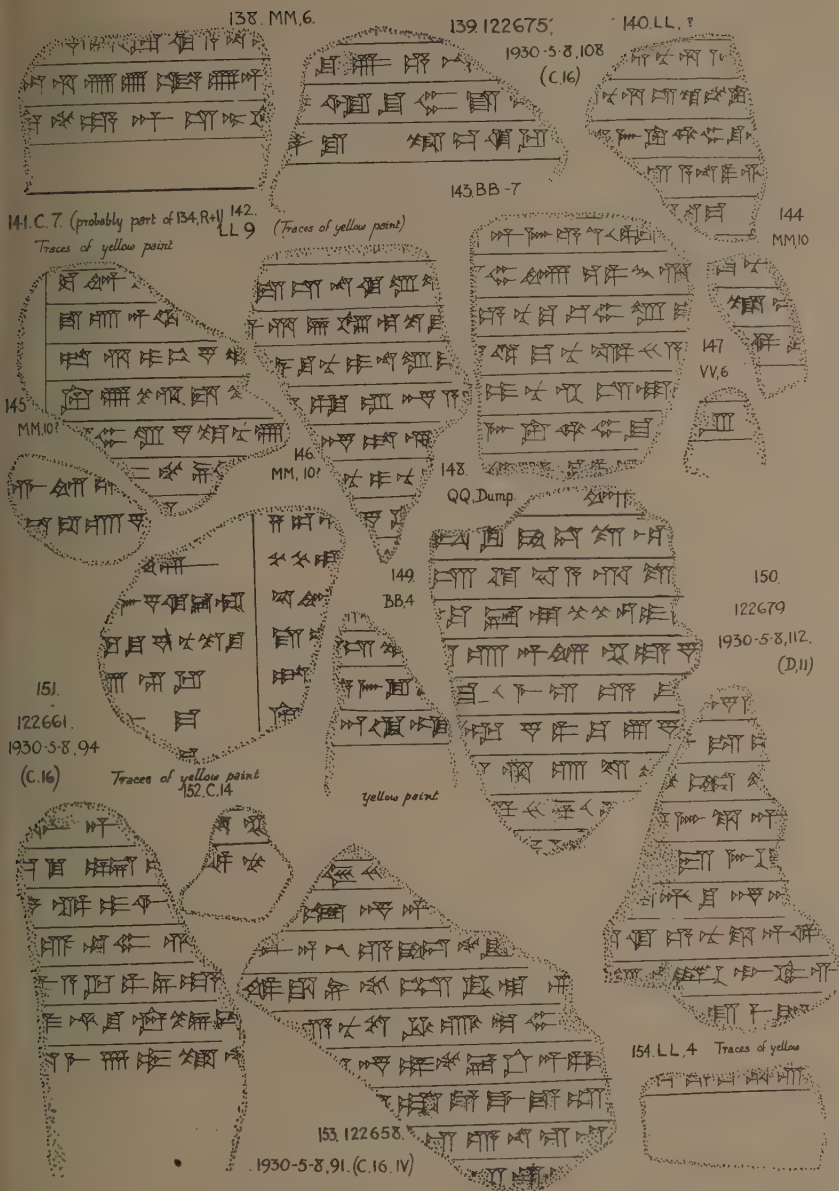
NN, 5













note in top

156 Said to have come from flats below  
Kauquajik.

155.C4.

158

159.C.154C.18.

161.

NN.2.

160 SHII

16300.3.

162.SH.II.3

164 RR.8

165  
C.20. Yellow paint

166  
Q1

168.SS.2

169.EE.3

169.A. Q5 Yellow

167.A.

DD.1

167  
NN.0

169B

NN.C



了采昌月之

夏斯京采保通一

除金比事之

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172. 122659. 1930-5-8. 92. Surface.

175. A.1

180. 122669.

1930-5-8. 102.

(A.1)

181. C.20

176 A. G.6.

(Different type from the usual variety)

176. 00.1.

C.12.

177.

178.

179.

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224.

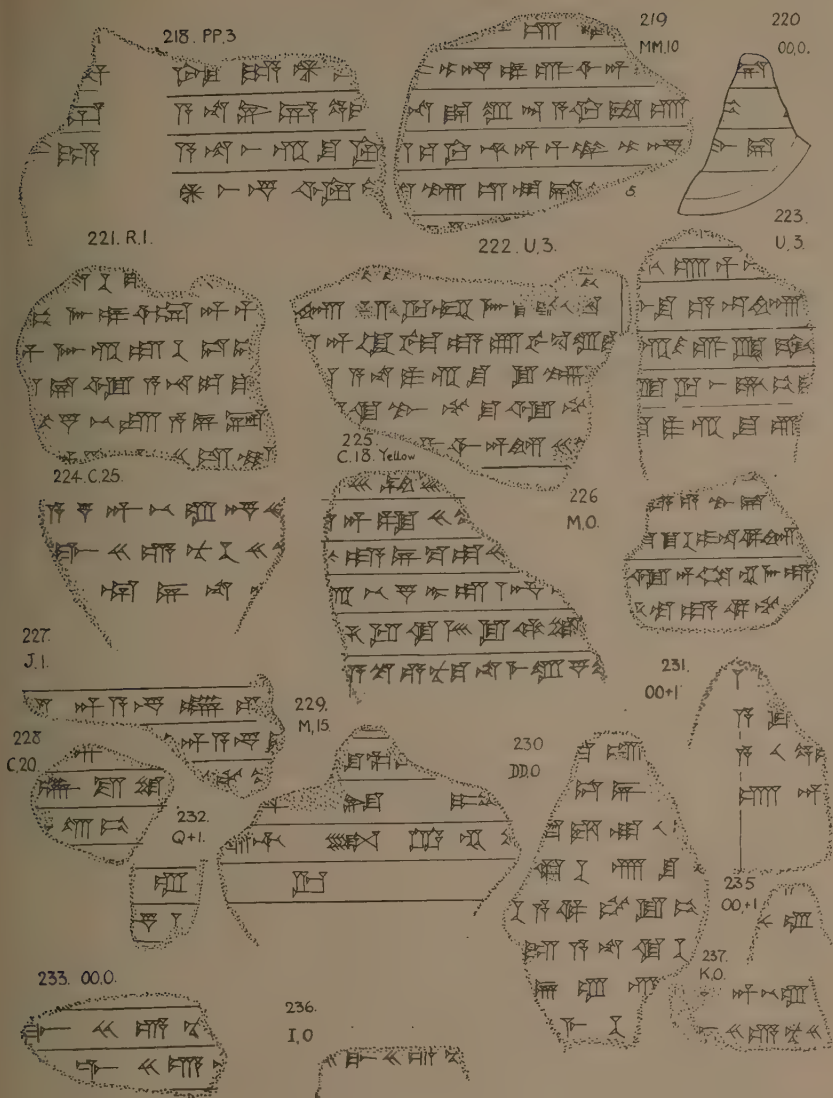
225.













238. X.20.

239. Surface.

240. X.17.

241. PP.1

242. 00.1

243.  
CC.4

244.  
BB.4.

247.  
R.6

250.  
J+2

246 PP.0

248. DD.0

249.  
Surface

251 DD.0

252.

253.  
CC.1

254. 122671. 1930-5-8, 104+N.0

Yellow.

255.  
CC.+2.

256 NN.3

257 CC.+3

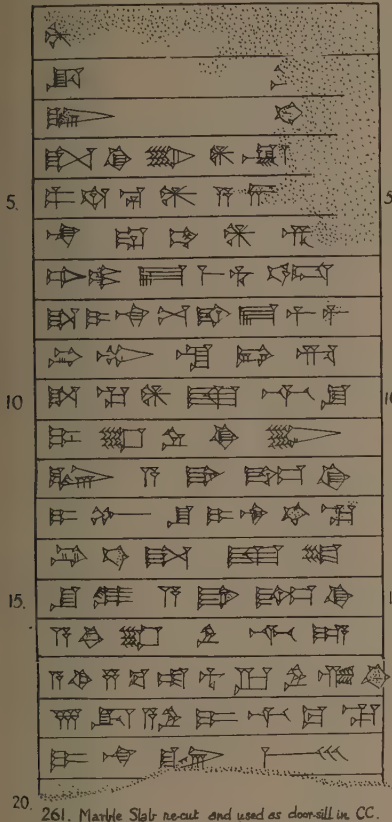
258.  
0+2

259 I.+1.

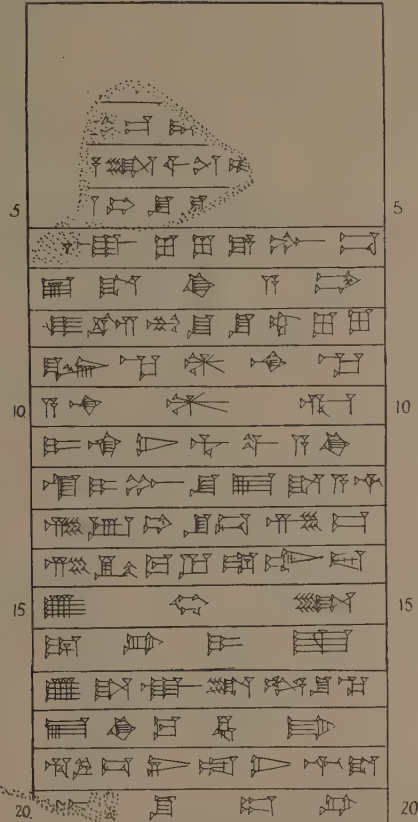




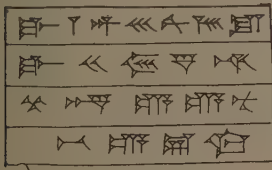
260. A. Heavy Sedimentary Stone Cylinder, R+1, W.8. Diam. 6½"  
Col. I.



Col. II.

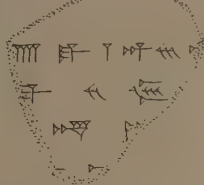


261. Marble Slab recut and used as door-sill in CC.



Fragment of duplicate BB 3  
(lines 2½" wide).

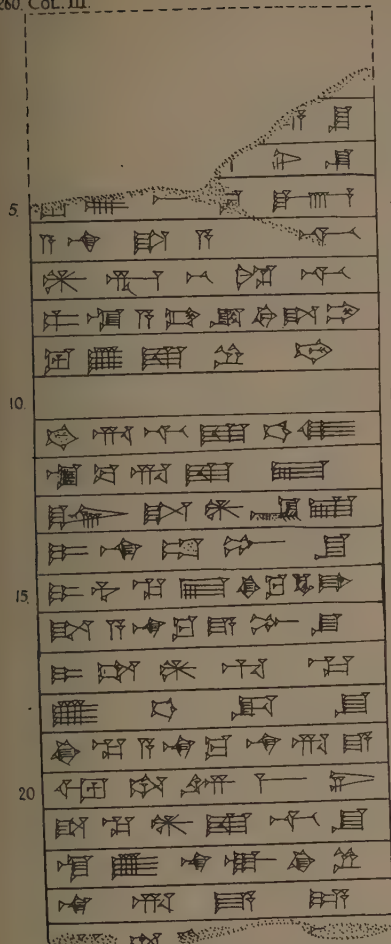
262. I.1. Limestone. 19½" x 17".



HEAVY SEDIMENTARY STONE CYLINDER, ETC.

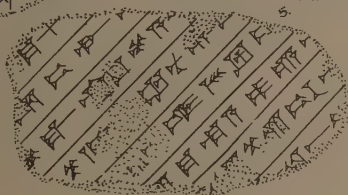


260. Col. III.

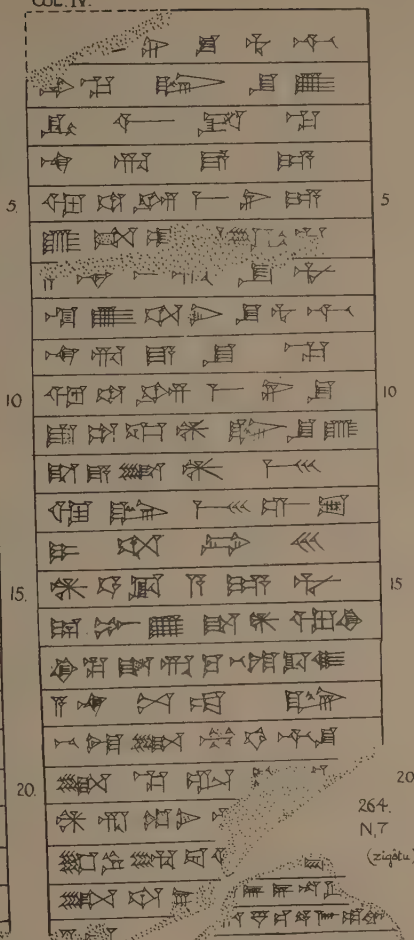


263.  
C. 13.

Limestone  
from wall.  
 $4\frac{1}{2} \times 3\frac{1}{2}$ .

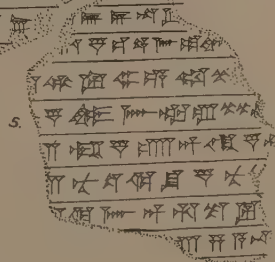


Col. IV.



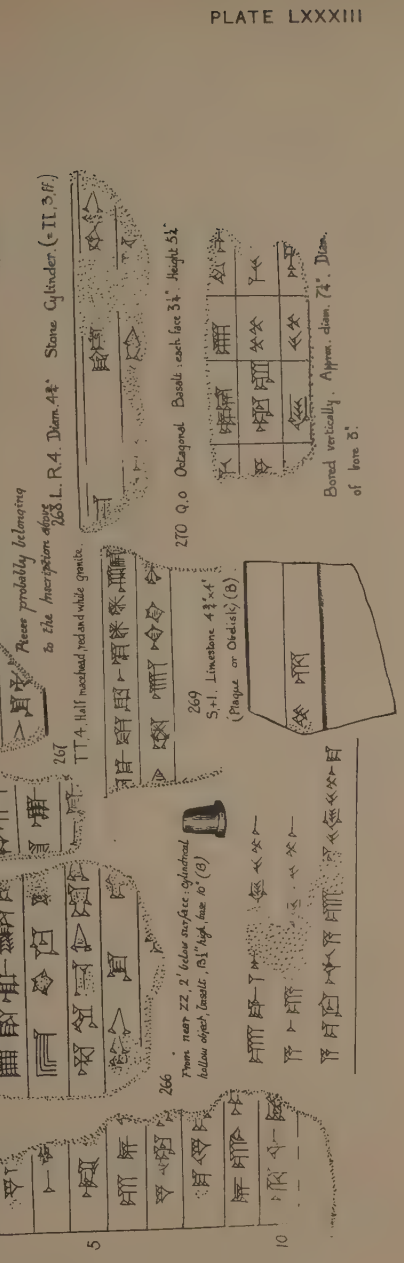
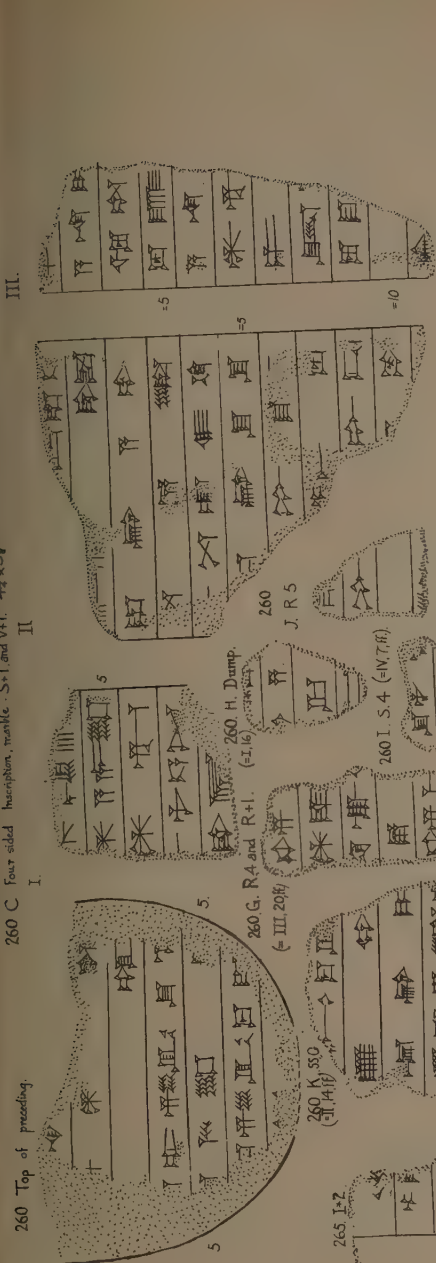
264.  
N. 7.

(Zigablu)



HEAVY SEDIMENTARY STONE CYLINDER (CONT.), ETC.





HEAVY SEDIMENTARY STONE CYLINDER, DUPLICATES, ETC.



260. B. Stone Cylinder in pieces

260. E. Two pieces (joined). (-III 20)

Col. I

Col. II

Wall, T+O

5

10

260. D. O.3. (= IV, 4 ff.)

271. I.1.

Limestone

18" x 15 1/2"

x 13"

260 F. Q + I.

COL. III

COL. IV

COL. I (=120)

COL. II

16

DUPLICATE OF PRECEDING, ETC.





一 二 三 四 五 六 七 八 九 十 十一 十二 十三 十四 十五 十六 十七 十八 十九 二十 二十一 二十二 二十三 二十四 二十五 二十六 二十七 二十八 二十九 三十 三十一 三十二 三十三 三十四 三十五 三十六 三十七 三十八 三十九 四十 四十一 四十二 四十三 四十四 四十五 四十六 四十七 四十八 四十九 五十 五十一 五十二 五十三 五十四 五十五 五十六 五十七 五十八 五十九 六十 六十一 六十二 六十三 六十四 六十五 六十六 六十七 六十八 六十九 七十 七十一 七十二 七十三 七十四 七十五 七十六 七十七 七十八 七十九 八十 八十一 八十二 八十三 八十四 八十五 八十六 八十七 八十八 八十九 九十 九十一 九十二 九十三 九十四 九十五 九十六 九十七 九十八 九十九 一百



20

25

25.

30

30.



① ~~2~~ ② In one edition this had been accidentally omitted, and was then squeezed in between w. 1 and 2.

[illegible]

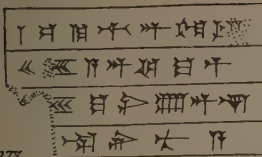
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 八十二  
 八十三  
 八十四  
 八十五  
 八十六  
 八十七  
 八十八  
 八十九  
 九十  
 九十一  
 九十二  
 九十三  
 九十四  
 九十五  
 九十六  
 九十七  
 九十八  
 九十九  
 一百

A vertical strip of paper, possibly a bookmark or a piece of tape, featuring several rows of handwritten symbols and markings. The symbols include Chinese characters and stylized marks. At the top, there are two horizontal lines with a small mark between them. Below this, the character "工" (Gong) is written next to a square symbol. Further down, the character "天" (Tian) is written next to a similar square symbol. Below that, the character "丁" (Ding) is written next to a vertical line. Then, the character "人" (Ren) is written next to a vertical line. Next, the character "十" (Shi) is written next to a horizontal line. Below that, the character "火" (Huo) is written next to a horizontal line. Finally, at the bottom, the character "大" (Da) is written next to a horizontal line. There are also some smaller, less distinct markings and symbols interspersed throughout.

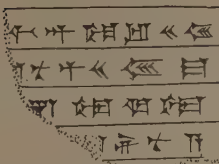




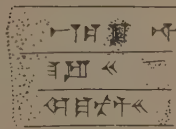
275 On face. Near drain, C.32.



276 On face. Near drain, C.32.

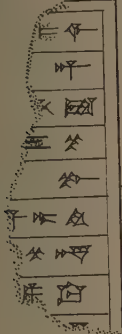


277 M.T. On face.  $15 \times 13 \times 2 \frac{1}{2}$ "  
(leaving margin)

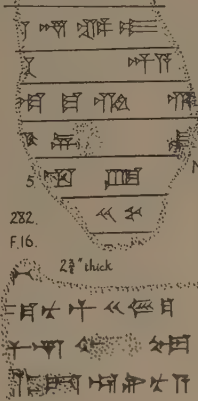
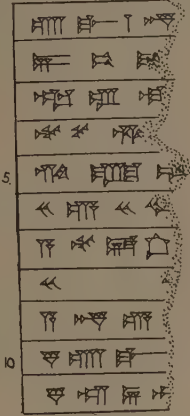


278

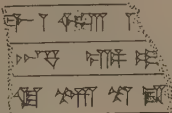
NN.0 2" thick



279. 00.0. On face Edge 2 1/2" 280. C.20. On face Edge 3 1/2"

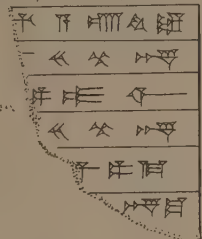


281. J+1 Edge. 2 1/2"

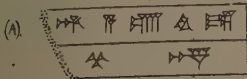


283

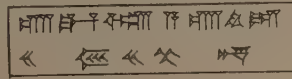
M (deep). On face Edge 3 1/2" thick



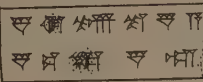
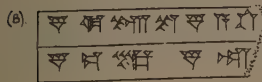
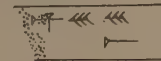
284. I+3. On two edges. 2 1/2"



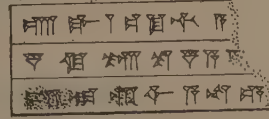
285 BB.5. On two edges.  $1'0 \frac{1}{2} \times 1'0 \frac{1}{2} \times 2 \frac{1}{2}$ "



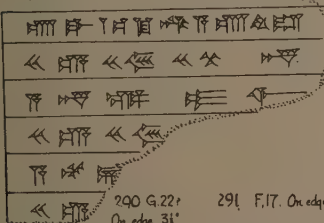
286. K.3. On edge. 2 1/2"



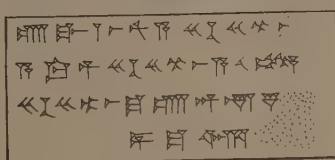
287. O.1. On edge 2 1/2"



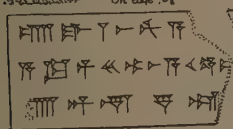
288. 00+0. On face.  $c. 1'0 \times 1 \times 2 \frac{1}{2}$ "



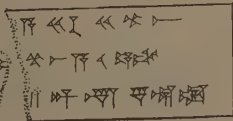
289 Q.0. On edge.  
( $14' \times 9 \frac{1}{2} \times 3 \frac{1}{2}$ )



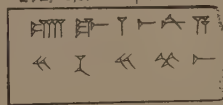
290 G.22.  
On edge. 3 1/2"



291. F.17. On edge. 3 1/2"



292. 0.3. On edge. 4 1/2"

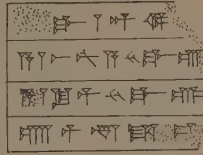
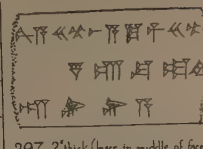
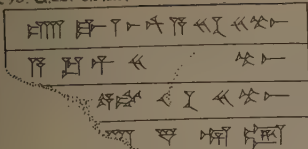




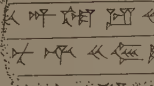
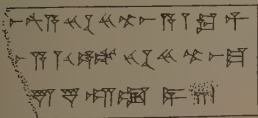
293. G.22. On face.

294. C10. K. wall. On edge 4"

295. W.10 On edge, 4 1/2"

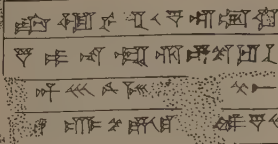


296. F.11 On edge 3 1/2"



297. 2" thick (hairs in middle of face)

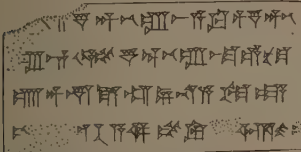
298 Said to have come from the S. wall of Nineveh. On face, 2 1/4" x 4 1/2" x 3 1/4"



300 Similar to above

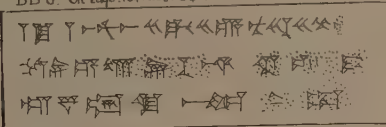


299 1,3 On edge. (13 1/2" x 13 1/2" x 4 1/2")

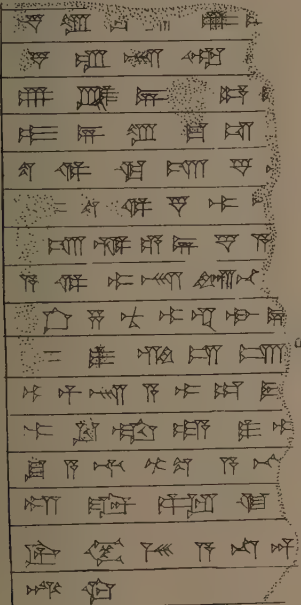


301

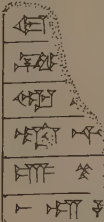
BB 6. On edge, 13 1/2" x 13 1/2" x 3 1/2" Found near large millstone, not in situ



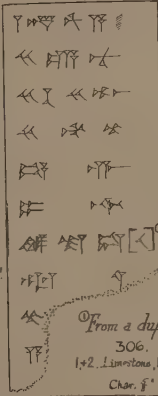
302 I+1 Hard limestone, in the round Height 5"



303 Limestone. F.T. 2" x 4". Obverse (?) Reverse

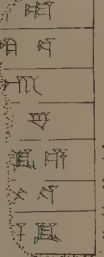


304 110" x 110" x 4 1/2" Marble. Lines 2" apart.



Rev.

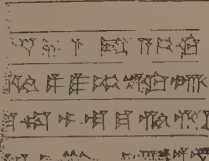
Char. 11"



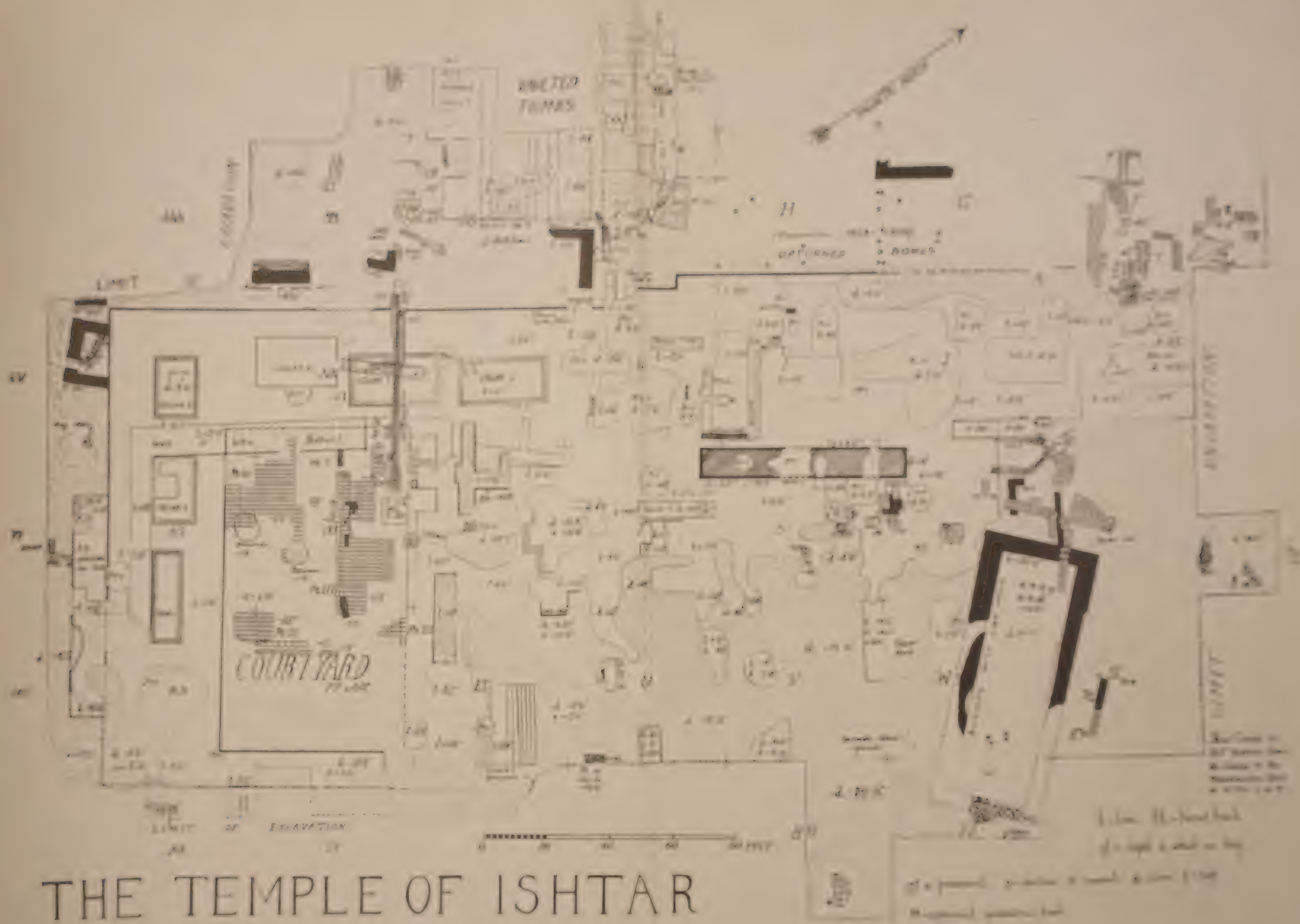
305

Obv. Char. 1 1/2"

From a duplicate. 306. 1 x 2 Limestone, 1 3/4" x 9 1/4" x 9". Char. 8"

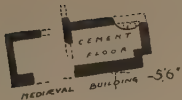








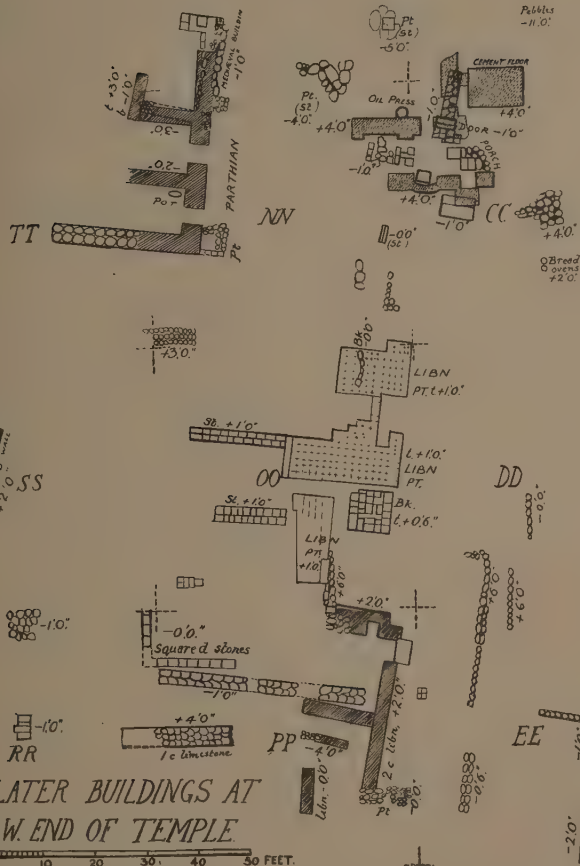




Helmet  
5'0"

MM

BB



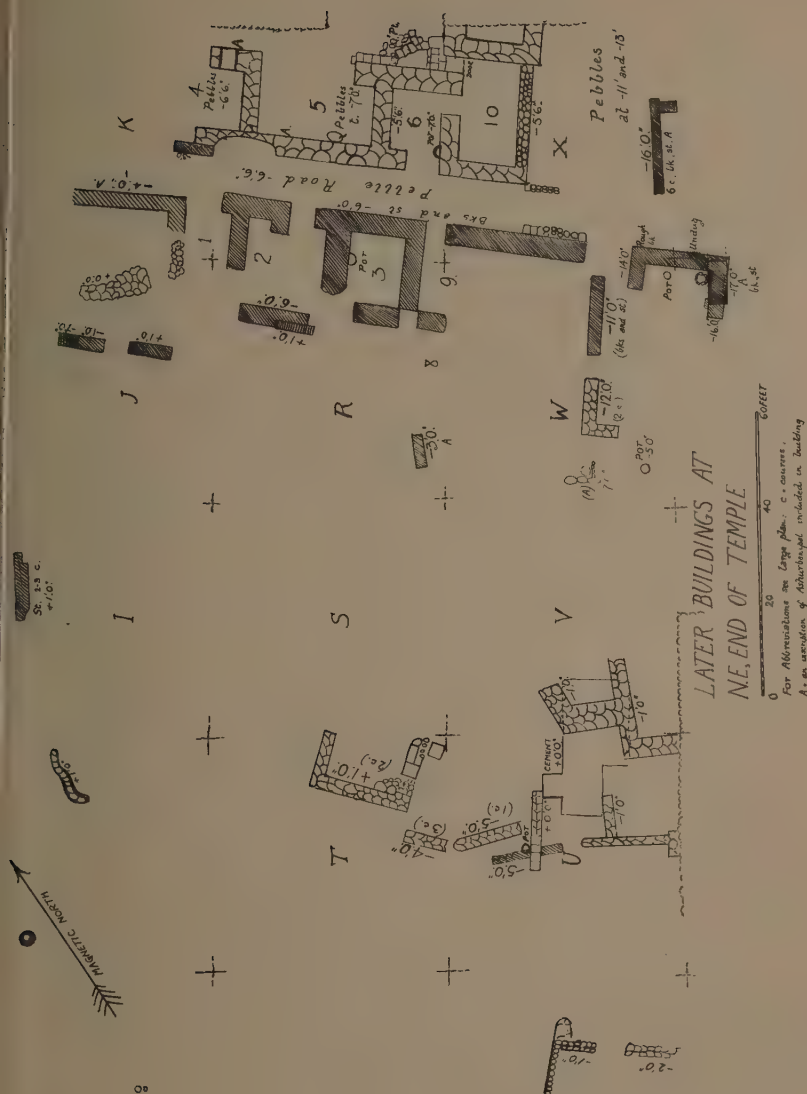
LATER BUILDINGS AT  
S.W. END OF TEMPLE.

For Abbreviations see large Plan.  
G. = courses

BUILDINGS FROM VIIITH CENT. B.C. TO XIIIITH CENT. A.D. (SITE OF TEMPLE OF ISHTAR).







BUILdings OF ROMANO-PARTHIAN PERIOD AND LATER NEAR SITE OF TEMPLE OF ISHTAR.



## A NOTE ON LATE MYCENAEAN VASES

By R. W. HUTCHINSON

Most authorities agree to divide the Late Bronze Age on the mainland of Greece into three periods corresponding approximately to Late Minoan I, II and III in Crete and termed Late Helladic I, II and III according to the system devised by Mr. Wace and Dr. Blegen. Two alternative schemes for the subdivision of the third period have been offered by Mr. Wace and Mr. Forsdyke (who prefers to call it the 'Late Mycenaean Period').

Mr. Wace takes as his model the 'Lion Gate deposit'<sup>1</sup> at Mycenae on the ground that its pottery is fairly representative of the whole period from 1400 to 1100 B.C.; the sherds from the later strata from that deposit are parallel in style to the vases from the 'Granary',<sup>2</sup> and therefore the L.H. III pottery from Mycenae is divisible, according to Mr. Wace, into L.H. IIIa or 'pre-Granary' and L.H. IIIb or 'Granary style.'

To this Mr. Forsdyke has objected that a certain type of deep bowl found in the earliest strata by the Lion Gate did not occur at Tell-el-Amarna and Ialysos—was in fact post-Tell-el-Amarna, and therefore to be correlated with the later sherds that succeeded Ialysos types at Phylakopi<sup>3</sup> and with the similar wares from Paros, which the excavator compared to the Philistine vases from Palestine. Since the first Philistine raid known to history is dated by the Egyptian records to 1194 B.C. Mr. Forsdyke suggested 1250 as a suitable year for the beginning of his Late Mycenaean B (L.H. IIIb) period, to which he would assign the pre-Granary sherds from the Lion Gate deposit. I think that he has misread the German report on Paros when he states that 'the latest Mycenaean ware found there was stratified above pottery of the Ialysos kind.' The misreading may be mine, but I suspect that by the word

1. *B.S.A.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 28-38.  
3. *B.S.A.*, Vol. XVII, p. 18.

2. *B.S.A.*, Vol. XXV, pp. 38-58.

'here'<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rubensohn meant Phylakopi and not Paros. However that may be, the main fact is certain that the Germans did find a deposit of very late Mycenaean ware which they identified with the late fabrics from Phylakopi, and which they compared to the Philistine pottery. Can we identify these late Mycenaean imports into the Cyclades with any of the pottery found near the Lion Gate? It may be admitted that Mr. Wace's very free use of the term Tell-el-Amarna is rather misleading. If we compare the Lion Gate material with that from the Egyptian site we miss certain features most typical of the Amarna vases, such as the extreme brilliance of the red paint and certain shapes, especially the pilgrim-flask and the piriform stirrup-cup with a quirked-ogival profile.<sup>2</sup> In answer to this we might argue that certain forms have only a local popularity, and that it is dangerous to draw inferences from their absence from any one site. Local unpopularity probably is the correct explanation of the absence from the Lion Gate strata of the 'pilgrim-flask,' a Levantine shape common in Rhodes, Cyprus, Syria and Egypt, but not on the mainland of Greece. A different reason, however, is required for the absence of the piriform stirrup-cup with quirked-ogival profile, a form known from various mainland sites in Boiotia and Attika, and even from an unpublished tomb at Mycenae.

Secondly, if the Lion Gate débris had begun to accumulate as early as 1400 B.C. we should have expected to find therein some Late Helladic II sherds, or at the least some examples of vases transitional between L.H. II and L.H. III types, such as were found in the 'Ramp House.'<sup>3</sup> Mr. Forsdyke has pointed out that the conventionalised flower ornament on the shoulder of a stirrup-cup from the second stratum by the Lion Gate is a degradation of the form most common at Tell-el-Amarna.<sup>4</sup> He remarks that it occurred in a late context at Palaikastro, but admits that it was also found at Gurob,<sup>4</sup> and the Gurob graves belong to his Late Mycenaean A.

But if these sherds from the early strata by the Lion Gate are not true 'Amarna ware' still less are they true 'Philistine ware,' and there seems to be no reason to date them so late as 1250 B.C.

There remains the question of the parallel dating with the imports

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1. *Ath. Mitt.* (1917), p. 70.

2. Such as British Museum A888 and A896.

3. *B.S.A.*, Vol. XXV, p. 80.

4. Palaikastro, fig. 94, Gurob Tomb, 062.

into the Cyclades. At least half of the late Mycenaean group of vases and sherds of the post-Ialysos type seem to be parallel with the 'Granary style' at Mycenae rather than with the pre-Granary vases, so far as can be judged from the illustrations.<sup>1</sup> I suggest therefore that the Lion Gate deposit began to be collected between 1350 and 1300 B.C., and that for evidence of the pottery in use at Mycenae between 1400 and 1350 we must turn to the 'Ramp House' and to two or three of the unpublished tombs.

I propose tentatively to subdivide the Third Late Helladic period into L.H. IIIa (1400-1300), L.H. IIIb (1300-1200) and L.H. IIIc (1200-1100). If objection be taken to the fact that my L.H. IIIa period commences twenty-five years before the date assigned for the beginning of the Third Late Minoan period in Crete, my answer is that the Third Late Helladic style appears already fully grown in a tomb at Gurob containing a kohl tube bearing the name of Amenhotep and dated by Mr. Forsdyke as 'not likely to be later than the beginning of the reign of Amenhotep IV' (1380 B.C.). Other objects dated to the same reign have been found with L.H. III pottery at Mycenae.<sup>2</sup> Twenty years seems to me to be a not unreasonable period to allow for the growth of the Third Late Helladic style. Nevertheless my limits 1400, 1300 and 1200 are round figures and not to be interpreted too literally.

To the L.H. IIIa period I would assign the Tell-el-Amarna and Gurob vases, most of the material from Ialysos and Enkomi, a large number of vases from Thebes, some from Attika, and at Mycenae the pottery from the Ramp House and perhaps from the first three strata by the Lion Gate.

The type site for the L.H. IIIb period might be Zigouries, but this period is well represented on many Argive sites, at Mycenae by a number of tombs, and by strata four to seven at the Lion Gate; much of the pottery from Korakou is L.H. IIIb, but surely the vase illustrated by Dr. Blegen in his Fig. 84 would be L.H. IIIa even under Mr. Forsdyke's division.<sup>3</sup>

To the L.H. IIIc I would assign the late pottery from Phylakopi and Paros, the Granary deposit at Mycenae and the strata by the Lion

1. *B.S.A.*, Vol. XVII, Pl. XII and Pl. XIV, nos. 39 to 44.

2. *B.M. Cat. of Vases*, Vol. I, part I, p. 182. G. D. S. Pendlebury, *Aegyptiaca*, p. 55.

3. Mr. Forsdyke has claimed that at Korakou his Late Mycenaean B was 'the only Late Mycenaean pottery present' (*B.M. Cat.*, Vol. I, part I, p. xliii).

Gate contemporary with it, and the splendid series of late vases from Tomb I at Asine.<sup>1</sup>

In conclusion, I may say that these suggestions are not intended to be more than a stop-gap until some one better qualified than I shall classify all the Late Helladic vases on a firmer basis.

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1. This tomb contained L.H. IIIa vases also.



## THE ETRUSCAN COLLECTION IN THE FREE PUBLIC MUSEUMS OF LIVERPOOL

BY MARY A. JOHNSTONE, B.Sc., F.L.S.

WITH PLATES XCIII AND XCIV

THROUGH the courtesy of the Director of the Liverpool Public Museums I have been allowed to publish the group of Etruscan objects in the archaeological collection formed by Mr. Joseph Mayer and presented by him to the Museums in 1867.<sup>1</sup>

Unfortunately nothing is known of the history of these objects before they came into Mr. Mayer's possession beyond the record that one piece was 'bought at Orvieto.'

Gold jewellery stands out as the most important part of the Museums' Etruscan possessions. Nearly all of it is in extremely good condition; it is fairly representative and of high quality; one or two pieces appear to be unique.

The Etruscans of both sexes loved to adorn themselves with jewellery, and their demands for beautiful things were met by artistic craftsmen whose skill has rarely been surpassed. In accordance with their belief in an active and happy life waiting for them after death, they deposited along with the dead their choicest favourite belongings, a practice traced as far back as an eighth-century *tomba a fossa*. In many of the many-chambered tombs the treasures lay safe for centuries. At various epochs in the history of Etruria the graves were found and rifled, particularly of their gold and silver. During the nineteenth century excavating Etruscan burial-places became a regular line of business; the products were sold and scattered to various countries; some are still traceable, much must be lost or lying around unheeded; but from what has been

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1. A more detailed description appears in *Studi Etruschi* (Florence), Vol. VI, this year. In the present more generalised account it has seemed good to substitute for some of the illustrations others of the less important pieces, so that the illustrations in the two papers between them cover the whole of the material.

preserved expert investigators have been able to construct an evolutionary sequence in the history of the jeweller's craft. As part of the basis on which their theories are founded, we may note the following :—

(a) The date of the jewellery can be assumed to be that of the tomb in which it is found, and for most of the important tombs the approximate date is now agreed upon by archaeologists. As a starting-point we have several seventh-century tombs. The famous Regolini-Galassi tumulus tomb of Cerveteri, discovered in 1836, contained a lady's ample store of jewels disposed on and around the place where she had lain ; the lady's name, as we learn from her inscribed silver dishes, was Larthia. The contents of this tomb are now housed, almost intact, in the Gregorian Museum of the Vatican. The Circle tombs of Vetulonia (particularly those of the Lictor and the Prince) have been the source of the richest finds of jewellery yet obtained ; a great part of their contents is now in the Archaeological Museum in Florence.

(b) The date of gold articles found in a sarcophagus or cinerary urn may be fixed by reference to accompanying objects, *e.g.* painted pottery the age of which is known.

(c) Sometimes the ornaments worn by the people of the tomb paintings can be matched with the real things, *e.g.* the ear-rings of Velia in the Tomba dell' Orco (Tarquinia), end of fifth century or beginning of fourth.

(d) The same is true for the portrait figures resting on the covers of sarcophagi, and in these the dress may indicate the period.

(e) Reliefs on grave monuments (*cippi*) have helped occasionally.

It is possible also to distinguish between the products of different regions of Etruria ; the style of the north sometimes differs from that of the south. Vetulonia had decidedly characteristic ideas, and was probably the most prominent centre of production, though Caere, Praeneste, Tarquinia, Vulci and other cities were outstanding.

Between the eighth century and the end of the third century B.C., when gold working as an art died out, very distinct changes can be traced. The work was at its superb best during the seventh and the first half of the sixth century. The changes embodied : technique, for example in granulation and filigree, which were at their finest in the seventh century ; design, both in shape and in ornamentation, as will be seen in the history of ear-rings ; workmanship, which fell from accuracy and delicacy to coarseness ; taste, the difference between the

refinement of the seventh to the fifth centuries and the showy gauds of the third.

One of the seventh-century Etruscan goldsmith's favourite modes of decorating a surface was with minute, sometimes nearly microscopic, granules of gold, the process known as granulation or a *pulviscolo*, or a *granulata*, the former when the particles were dust-like. This technique, which produced results of extraordinary elegance, was not restricted to the Etruscans; very good examples come from Greece, from Egypt of the sixth dynasty, from Rhodes and Asia Minor. The Etruscan work reached its extreme of beauty in the seventh century; the fashion declined in the late sixth and fifth, and the granulate work of the fourth century was comparatively coarse in quality.

Probably the earliest use of the idea was for tracing outlines, and specially for geometrical designs, but later applications gave the complete animal or plant form covered with gold globules or dust. It was used also for details in combination with other kinds of decoration.

Benvenuto Cellini described the procedure which he considered likely to have been used. Various Roman goldsmiths have executed reproductions of Etruscan gold ornaments with some success. The Castellanis were the most notable, though even they owned that the *granulata* in its perfection still defied their skill to compass it.

The loveliest of the *granulata* work is to be found in the Florence Museum, and came mainly from the seventh-century graves of Vetulonia. As very choice examples may be mentioned three fibulae, an armlet and a large pin, the globular head of which is covered with exquisite, most life-like representations of the horse, the lion and winged quadrupeds—all blocked out in *pulviscolo*.

The ornamentation known as *trinatura* or a *trina*, which developed into the filigree familiar to us, certainly originated with the Etruscans—probably was brought by them from their Asiatic place of origin. It is neither Greek nor early Egyptian, but appeared in Egypt in the Hellenistic age. It was revived in Genoa during the Renaissance.

Like the granulation, the choicest of the *trinatura* belongs to the seventh century; it was abandoned almost entirely about the fifth, whilst a poor version of it was brought forward again in the third. Vetulonia excelled in this art-craft; one design peculiar to her was the meander, distinguishing her work from that of the southern centres, such as Caere, Falerii and Praeneste.

*Trinatura* was essentially a manipulation of gold wire, of excessive tenuity in the best work. The design might be quite open, composed solely of the golden strands and rather like lacework in effect; or the wire might be laid down on a plate of metal as background, as in embroidery. A great variety of patterns appears—meanders, cables, circles, spirals, triangles. Again Florence possesses masterpieces: for example, the wonderful armlet from the Pietrera tomb at Vetulonia.

Repoussé work was in vogue from the seventh century onwards; the great embossed plate found in the Regolini-Galassi tomb is a magnificent example of it. From the early fifth century stamping patterns on gold sheet became very common, both for plant and animal motives; in the third century its use surpassed all other processes.

In combination with one or other of the above methods of ornamentation there are often found groups of miniature figures 'in the round.' They are particularly charming in the early fibulae, where tiny ducks and lions associate in beautiful harmony.

Incised work on gold is not often found.

Gold was used in the pure state, or combined with silver as an alloy, electrum. In the latter case the proportions varied according to the degree of hardness required. Silver was often plated with gold.

The specimens of Etruscan jewellery in the Liverpool Museums range in date from the seventh to the third (or second) century B.C. I have made careful comparison between them and the collections in the British Museum, the Archaeological Museum of Florence, the Etruscan Museum of the Villa Giulia in Rome, the Gregorian Museum in the Vatican, the Perugia Museum and the Tarquinia Museum. The chronological results offered are based on these comparisons and on the published opinions of Pericle Ducati and others. I have to express my gratitude to Professor Ducati for checking them.

The collection includes: necklaces, pendants, embossed laminae, a tiara, a bracelet, ear-rings, finger-rings, a fibula, a hair-spiral and miscellaneous objects.

## NECKLACES AND PENDANTS

The Etruscans were very fond of necklaces and often wore several of them at the same time. There is evident great diversity and a distinct sequence of styles. In the tomb paintings and on the steles and the

portrait figures on the burial chests we see both close-fitting collars and long, drooping chains.

Seventh-century styles are illustrated from Larthia's stock of jewels. One immense affair consists of biconical hollow beads of gold, each nearly three inches long; another carried three tassel-like pendants of amber framed in gold, whilst a small gold human head must have been a pendant for still another chain. In the sixth century, and later, much elaboration was achieved by the combining of numerous pendants slung by slender interlaced chains from a ribbon-like strand; or an elegant effect was got by attaching a pendant which was a minute work of art, *e.g.* a head of Silenus, to a flexible chain of woven gold wire. The British Museum possesses an example of the former type—gold braid to which are attached by delicate linked chains a variety of rosettes, acorns and lotus flowers. Many heavier neck ornaments were made of beads of lapis lazuli, serpentine, amber, vitreous paste, etc.

In the fourth century *bullae* appear as pendants, both for the neck and for armlets; they are large lens-shaped objects and are supposed to have contained amulets. In the third century, torques, ropes of twisted gold, became fashionable.

Liverpool possesses three beautiful necklaces and nine pendants.

**No. 10313** (Pl. XCIII, 4). Length: .287 m. End of 6th cent. B.C.

This necklace is composed of 49 gold beads; these are flattened spheres, alternately plain and decorated, the ornament consisting of lily flowers. The two terminal beads have the form of a lion's head and neck.

The necklace carries an extremely interesting and handsome pendant (height: .054 m.). It represents a woman's face and is of sheet gold in fine relief. The style is archaic, the eyes slant upwards at the outer corners, a circle of stiff little curls surrounds the brow, the band confining them adorned with four-leaved and three-leaved *motifs* alternating. This specimen is regarded by certain Italian authorities as being unique.

**No. 10322.** Length: .367 m. First half of 5th cent. B.C.

This is a necklace in which 17 beads of gold alternate with 18 beads of green (?) tourmaline. The gold beads have been made by joining together two hollow hemispheres, the junction being covered by an arrangement of gold wire. The pale green (?) tourmaline beads are crystals cut to the required length, the angles much rounded.



**No. 10326** (Pl. XCIII, 2). Length : .178 m. Possibly early 5th cent. B.C.

This is a simple string of 28 gold beads, together with a little pendant imitating an acorn in its cup. Five beads at each end have originally been coated with granular gold, now nearly all worn away. The other beads are finished off at the places where they touch each other by a circlet of beaded gold.

**No. 10327 ; No. 8919 (two) ; No. 10328 ; No. 10337 ; No. 10336 ; No. 10309 ; No. 10343 ; No. 10344.**

These are detached pendants, the first six of which (Pl. XCIV, 1, 8, 9, 10, 16 and 11) are small examples (.006 m. to .025 m. in diameter), made of thin sheet gold, and approximately globular or heart-shaped perfume vases in shape. They are probably fourth-century productions, and are not uncommon.

**No. 10309** (Pl. XCIII, 1). Diameter : .035 m. 4th to 3rd cent. B.C.

This is much more massive. It consists of a very dark piece of spherulitic obsidian framed in gold, the slight ornamentation on the metal being of applied wire and repoussé bosses.

**No. 10343** (Pl. XCIV, 20). Length : .031 m.

This is of gold, shaped like a fish, scales and fins being touched in.

**No. 10344** (Pl. XCIV, 4).

This is an embossed disc from which hang three small drops—a pearl, a morsel of tourmaline and a blue stone.

### EMBOSSSED LAMINAE OF GOLD

Sheet gold beaten into thin leaves was used extensively by the Etruscans. The sumptuous mortuary crowns characteristic of the fourth and third centuries were made of this material, and in various tombs quantities of small plaques or flakes have been collected which had evidently been stitched to robes. No. 10315 in the museum belongs to four of these little things (Pl. XCIV, 19).

Two much more important adaptations must be mentioned. (a) A few gold plates have been found which formed part of tomb equipment and bear inscriptions which may be prayers to a deity. One such came from Tarquinia and another from Chiusi. (b) In other plates perforations are

punched close to the edge, and these must have been stitched to cloth or fastened with pins to a hard substance. There is doubt as to their exact signification; some may have been adornments for ordinary apparel, some may have been specially designed for burial garments. Such plates are covered with repoussé work of varying quality, and it is often difficult to discover the meaning of the subjects: some at any rate seem to be symbolical scenes relating to religious cults.

There are three specimens of the second group in the Mayer collection, the first two of particular interest. Castellani of Rome must have seen them; he suggested that they had come from Asia Minor. Professor P. Ducati, however, considers them to be of Etruscan workmanship, and to belong, possibly, to the fifth century.

**No. 10306.** (a)  $\cdot 051$  m.  $\times$   $\cdot 026$  m.; (b)  $\cdot 058$  m.  $\times$   $\cdot 020$  m. Possibly 5th cent. B.C.

(a) (Pl. XCIII, 8). This has five attachment holes. In the scene a bearded figure of Neptune holding a trident in his left hand and a bunch of something (? a fish) in his right is talking to a beardless man.

(b) (Pl. XCIII, 6). This has ten attachment holes. The event represented is obscure. To the left, a body with a dagger projecting from its chest is lying on its back. On the extreme right is an altar bearing fire. Between the two kneels a man who with both hands holds out a cloth towards the altar, whilst behind him a bow and quiver are resting on the ground. The featuring is wonderfully distinct.

With (a) and (b) may be compared two plaques in the Falerii section of the museum of the Villa Giulia. The embossed work on each of these consists of three nude figures standing in a row. These plaques also are perforated for purposes of attachment.

**No. 10314** (Pl. XCIII, 7). Diameter:  $\cdot 062$  m. 3rd-2nd cent. B.C.

This gold plate is not so problematic as the other two. It is circular, and rather roughly but expressively wrought. In the centre is a head of Medusa; round this is arranged a circle of floral rosettes.

### TIARA

**No. 10311** (Pl. XCIII, 9). Measurement across:  $\cdot 102$  m. 5th cent. B.C.

This elegant and beautifully made ornament was probably used as a kind of coronet. One end is missing. The idea embodied is a con-



ventionalized stem forming a central strand from which spring on either side a number of three-lobed flowers. Judging from the regularly disposed punctures, it was intended to be mounted on a foundation such as a ribbon. I have seen nothing like this in any other collection.

### BRACELET

**No. 10323.** Length: about .165 m. Probably 5th cent. B.C.

This is made from a flexible strip of flat coiled wire. Bell-shaped structures furnished with loop and pin and adorned with a garnet set in a rosette constitute a serviceable fastening. This is a very simple ornament compared with some of those found. Larthia's seventh-century bracelets, some three inches wide, bore elaborate work in repoussé—human figures enclosed in granulated borders. Another bracelet belonging to the same period, found in a Vetulonia grave, is a perfect example of *trinatura*.

### EAR-RINGS

Of these there are in the Mayer collection four pairs and seven single ear-rings, and in addition a pair of ornaments which are quite likely to have been meant for the ears. Whilst none of these is in any way remarkable but may be matched in style in various museums, they nevertheless constitute a quite good set illustrative of the evolution of the ear-ring in the course of the Etruscan centuries.

**No. 10325.** Height: .017 m. Beginning of 5th cent. B.C.

This pair of ear-rings represents one of the earliest forms, which existed at least in the early sixth century. It is the type *a baule*, a cylindrical box which is not at all one's conception of an ear-ring. The curved surface is broken by a transverse slit, from one side to the other of which crossed the suspension wire (missing in these); the wire was concealed from front view by a triangular flap hinged to one side of the slit—very ingenious and pretty. The whole surface—curvature, ends and flap—is covered with a charming variety of designs carried out partly in applied twisted gold wire, partly as stamped bosses, the latter dusted over with minute grains of gold (*a pulviscolo*). This most beautiful pair of ear-rings is in nearly perfect condition; though not the finest specimens known of their type, they are yet high in the list.

From the study of this and other more complicated forms of Etruscan ear-rings, it seems certain that they were intended for suspension from simple gold rings kept permanently in the ears. It would be impossible to insert into the lobe of the ear many of the thick awkward rings in which the ornaments terminate.

**No. 8897.** Diameter : ·020 m. 5th cent. B.C.

In the fifth century the taste in ear-rings changed, the 'box' type giving place to a derivative, the 'ring' type (*ad anello*). Sometimes that was actually a simple ring; sometimes the 'ring' was broken and the ends fashioned as heads of animals.

This pair is similar to several others known, but the execution is very notable in its exquisite delicacy and its accuracy. The ring proper is made of tightly coiled gold wire; at one end we have the head of a lion, at the other the head of a lioness. Every detail is truthfully rendered—muzzles, mane, eyes, tongues; the beauty is only fully appreciated when seen under magnification.

**No. 8898.** Outer diameter : ·013 m. 5th cent. B.C.

This ear-ring is fashioned on the same plan as the last, but one end of the ring of coiled wire terminates in a setting of twisted wire which holds in place a dolphin's head cut from dark reddish-brown amber.

**No. 10329** (Pl. XCIII, 5). Height : ·023 m. 5th to 4th cent. B.C.

This pair represents another modification, in which what one might call the front of the ring is elaborated till nearly unrecognizable, the back being hidden behind this decorated oval plate and acting as the functional ring. The front plate has in the centre a smooth oval boss, surrounded by ornamental motives of small gold balls, tiny hollows, and designs outlined in gold wire.

Fourth-century taste produced some fantastically ornate ear-rings which were developed from this type. One of the most gorgeous is in the British Museum, and what might be its fellow is in the Villa Giulia. Some of the heavy-looking ear-rings, overloaded with pendants, must have been designed expressly for funeral purposes.

**No. 10338** (Pl. XCIV, 12). Outside measurement : ·023 m. Early 4th cent. B.C.

This is a variety of the 'ring' type, a curved horn, having a drop

ornament of pyramidal shape made up of little gold balls, grouped in imitation of a bunch of grapes.

**No. 8899** (Pl. XCIV, 5). Inclusive length: .050 m. Possibly 4th cent. B.C.

Here the ring undergoes another change, various additions being made to it. To the suspension ring is attached a rosette, and from that hangs a cone-shaped pendant set with a garnet and tipped with gold globules. This is a comparatively simple affair beside some of the rings carrying bunches of pendants.

**No. 8896** (Pl. XCIV, 3) and **No. 10.10.78.32** (Pl. XCIII, 3). 4th to 3rd cent. B.C.

These two, each incomplete and .035 m. long, include a new feature, a kind of basket made of gold wire.

**No. 10320**. Diameter: .044 m. 3rd cent. B.C.

The ring is a curved tapering tube one end of which, much dilated, is covered with a design in repoussé work. The upper part is well defined—a woman's head and bust, possibly a siren; the elaborate head-covering is continued downwards into a very indistinct lower part. The work is not of distinguished quality.

**No. 10345**. Outside diameter: .030 m. Perhaps beginning of 3rd cent. B.C.

This is a simple tube having a trumpet-shaped end into which the other end fits. The decoration is rather coarse repoussé.

**No. 10464**. Inclusive length: .030 m. 3rd cent. B.C.

This pair of ear-rings was found in the cinerary urn Nos. 10463-4. An imitation of them is recognizable in the ears of the figure of a woman resting on the cover of the urn.

The rings are of the composite type; from a rosette of gold hangs an inverted pyramid and two small side chains carrying droplets of gold.

**No. 10308**. Diameter: .025 m. Probably 4th cent. B.C., but may be earlier.

These are two circular ornaments about which one may speculate a good deal, although it is pretty certain that they were used for fixing to or near the ears. A number of other examples exist, and some still

retain at the back small contrivances for keeping them in place. These two, save for the attachments, are perfect, and are charmingly decorated with granulate gold and patterns of bosses, rings and double spirals of applied wire.

In the Tomb of the Painted Vases at Tarquinia, the picture of the lady on the banqueting couch is very well preserved, and we can see that she is wearing an ornament which resembles those described. It covers the ear, to which it may be fixed, though it may equally well be the termination of the band which confines the hair.

Another comparison, less safe because of the lack of detail, may be made with a relief on a Chiusine *cippus* in the Barracco Museum in Rome. One of the women in the scene cut in low relief on the side of the monument wears a round decoration very suggestive even in the stone; this is plainly attached to the ear itself, not to the hair-band which is again present.

### FINGER-RINGS

No. 10330 ; No. 10331 ; No. 10332 (Pl. XCIV, 13, 14, 15). Probably 3rd cent. B.C.

These are simple rings of plain gold. The collets are oval, and in long diameter vary between .008 m. and .019 m. In one of them the collet is hollowed out as the bed for a stone.

Such simple rings can be recognized on sarcophagus figures, *e.g.* in Tarquinia, and their date may be fixed as third or second century. They are insignificant descendants of the artistic gems of the seventh and sixth centuries where we find on the large oval plate mythological or other subjects beautifully incised.

### FIBULA

No. 10346. Length : .031 m. Perhaps 4th cent. B.C.

This is the only fibula in the collection. The pin is present but is broken off, otherwise the brooch is in good condition and is well made.

It is of the type *ad arco*, the bow graceful and not very long, the catch-plate pleasingly underfolded. It is made of thin sheet gold and the ornament is of applied wire in double spirals and cable edgings.

The fibula in its many forms enjoyed a long run of popularity in the Italian peninsula, introduced possibly from Mycenaean civilization and

passing through a very complete series in the bronze work of the Villanovans. The seventh century has given us marvellously devised fibulae. Larthia of the Regolini-Galassi tomb had nineteen small fibulae lying beside her, but she owned also one imposing brooch of gold, large as a breastplate. An ambitious artist's work is manifest on it, in two great discs of gold plated on a core of silver, vivacious lions in repoussé, rows of little ducks prepared in the round and soldered on, and bands of fine granulation—a *tour de force*. Perhaps the most artistic fibula we have is one coming from Marsigliana (now in Florence) ornamented with meanders in granulation, together with a line of ducks and two lions made in the round. Florence possesses several other precious examples from Vetulonia, and the British Museum has one of great elegance. Another type is seen in a heavy fibula of amber banded with gold in the Castellani collection in the Villa Giulia.

It seems that the fibula was passing out of favour about the end of the fifth century.

#### HAIR-SPIRAL

No. 10310 (Pl. XCIV, 7). Height: .018 m. 7th cent. B.C.

This is a flexible ribbon-like spiral made of strands of flat gold wire, ending in rounded enlargements. It might be mistaken for a finger-ring but is known to have been used as a fastening for the hair. Two of them were found in Larthia's tomb. They are not uncommon.

#### GOLD BOSS

No. 10324 (Pl. XCIV, 2). Diameter: .040 m.

This is an octagonal boss evidently intended to be fastened by its perforations to some garment.

#### BEADS

No. 11515.

These fourteen pretty little filigree beads, spheres of interwoven gold wire, may be parts of a necklace or bracelet.

#### ETRUSCAN TEETH

The evidence gathered from Etruscan skulls suggests that the race possessed excellent teeth. Some of it also informs us that there were in practice dentists skilled in the treatment of teeth. Not only did they



cover up blemishes by means of strips of gold, and tighten up in the same way teeth which were shaky, but they employed a clever method of replacing lost teeth, which constitutes the earliest known effort at dental 'bridge-work.' It is possible that some, but certainly not all, of the gold dressings were added when the body was entombed, in order to make it as comely as possible.

Two sets of gold-mounted teeth—one containing natural, the other artificial teeth—accompany the Liverpool jewellery.

No. 10335 (Pl. XCIV, 17). Natural human teeth. Long diameter of gold setting:  $\cdot 030$  m. Depth:  $\cdot 005$  m.

The plan of the 'bridge-maker' was to prepare from a narrow strip of gold a closed oval belt just wide enough to be slipped over a tooth and of length sufficient to accommodate the number of teeth concerned. The new teeth were fixed in this by gold rivets passing through them from front to back of the oval. In the example here in question the artificial teeth are lost, but the rivets remain, and through the ends of the oval pass the two fixed teeth round which the whole structure would be slung as if on pegs. The teeth present belong to the upper jaw.

No. 10334 (Pl. XCIV, 18). Artificial teeth. Long diameter of setting:  $\cdot 030$  m. Depth:  $\cdot 003$  m.

In this denture we have the complementary version of the first. The 'false' teeth are still secured in place by their rivets, whilst the end loops of the band, which would have been occupied by teeth *in situ*, are empty. The point of greatest interest is that the false teeth are made from real human teeth, the fangs of which have been cut off, and the central region grooved in such a way that it would fit over the ridge of the gum; the opening into the pulp cavity is visible. These manufactured teeth are central upper incisors.

There are references to these two sets of Etruscan teeth in the *Journal of the British Dental Association* of May and September 1885. In the *Independent Practitioner* (Dental and Oral Science), New York, January 1885, Dr. J. G. Van Marter of Rome describes another sample of the work of the Etruscan dentists, found in Tarquinia. A specimen still shown in the museum there agrees with the description given by Dr. Marter; in this the artificial teeth are, he says, carved from 'some large animal's tooth.' I understand that in not very distant days modern dentists used the tooth of the walrus as their raw material.

The Villa Giulia Museum contains a set of four Etruscan teeth two of which are indicated as artificial by the rivets, whilst the other two flanking them are natural. In the same museum the collection from Falerii includes a skull, in the lower jaw of which a gold denture is still fixed; there are in it spaces for four teeth, two real and two false. The gold band is very deep and heavy and would conceal a great part of the teeth: was this a sepulchral piece? The date assigned is third to second century.

A woman's remains preserved as found in the Florence Museum show the lower jaw exposed. The teeth are excessively worn. They are banded with gold strips, one inside and one outside the row of teeth.

The practice of gold dentistry must have spread from Etruria to Latium. Amongst other proofs is the Roman denture mentioned by Dr. Marter, very like Etruscan work, found in a Roman tomb of 400 B.C.

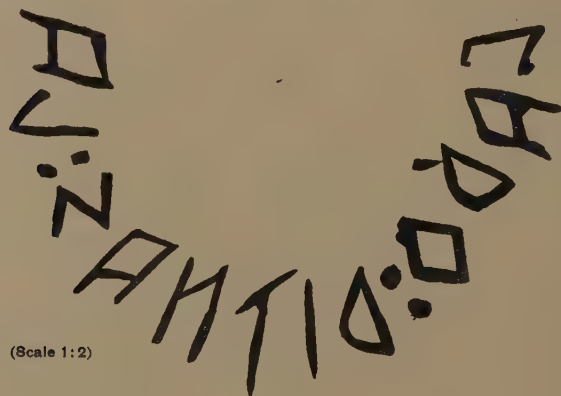
### CIPPUS

No. 10.4.84.8. Diameter of base of cone: .125 m.

Described in catalogue as 'bought at Orvieto.'

This is one of the simplest forms of *cippus*, or monument marking a resting-place of the dead. A number similar to this are known. It is made of basalt.

The inscription is placed round the lowest part of the cone. The letters are deeply cut and angular, as one expects in such material. They read:—



ANTIDON

(Scale 1:2)



## LARTH RITNAS LA

La is abbreviation for Larth, and the meaning may be Larth Ritnas, son of Larth, or Larth, son of Larth Ritnas. In any case the first Larth would be the eldest son of the second, such being the Etruscan law of nomenclature. The first reading is the better of the two.

## CINERARY URN

Nos. 10463-4. Length of chest: .42 m. Height: .27 m.

In the localities and for the periods—sometimes very prolonged—in which incineration was the customary mode of treating the dead, great numbers of receptacles expressly made to contain the ashes have been found. The references made here are concerned only with the later centuries of Etruscan history. The material employed varies with the district: Volterra used alabaster; Perugia travertine which was often covered with stucco and painted; Chiusi a soft sandstone (*pietra fetida*), and also, more frequently, polychrome terra-cotta.

It is the Chiusine terra-cotta urns which claim our attention now. A chronological sequence can be followed amongst them, the style of dress and attitude of the figure generally to be found on the cover helping to determine the dates. The ash chest itself seems to have been nearly invariably kept as a ready-made in the shops, available for all customers. Sometimes the same statement has to be made about the statuary cover, though, to be strictly correct, that should have been a portrait study of the deceased. It undoubtedly was on occasion, probably when the family was wealthy enough to bear the cost.

The provenance of the Liverpool burial urn is not given in the catalogue, but almost certainly it belongs to the territory of Chiusi, and almost certainly to the third century or late fourth.

It is made of painted terra-cotta and is one of the rare examples in which the colours are preserved fresh and rich. The front of the chest is covered with a scene in high moulded relief, a plain Etruscanized version of the duel between the Theban brothers Eteocles and Polynices, at the moment when they are giving each other the fatal wounds. The Etruscan touch appears in a winged *Lasa*, the female messenger of the gods of the after-life, who stands torch in hand behind each of the brothers, ready to carry off his soul. The composition of the scene is meritorious in its vigour, its balance and its simplicity.

It is a woman who rests on the cover, wearing a dress characteristic of Greek modes of the fourth and third centuries. Her hair is dressed neatly, waved round the face and gathered into a mass at the back. She wears ear-rings, evidently imitations of those found in the urn.

Along the upper edge of the chest is written an inscription, painted in bold lettering :—

**: A 2 1 1 3 H : 1 V 9 M**

(Scale 1:2)

It means :—

**ARUI HELESA**

Replicas of this urn are numerous ; sometimes they are exact, more often they are variants in a slight degree. Körte<sup>1</sup> deals with them at some length. He considers that probably about 250 are in existence—he himself counted 125. They all come from Chiusine territory and must be derived from a common prototype ; they may be of different sizes.

The theme itself seems to have attracted Etruscan fancy ; we see, for example, another representation of it—quite diverse in style—on a painted wall in the François tomb at Vulci (mid-fourth century).

Ash chests corresponding closely to the Liverpool one are to be seen in the British Museum, the Louvre, the Villa Giulia and the Florence Museum. Florence has fourteen about the same size, one glowing with colour, and one larger urn from Chiusi which bears an almost exact reproduction of the lady resting on her couch on the cover, one interesting point being that she wears no ear-rings. In this urn the Eteocles story is given not quite the same treatment. The date assigned is third to second century.

#### AMPHORA OF IMPASTO WARE

No. 10478.

In order that this record of the Liverpool Etruscan material may be complete, mention must be made of the small amphora of impasto ware published by Mr. R. W. Hutchinson in this journal.<sup>2</sup>

After the International Etruscan Congress of 1928 an appeal was issued to all who had knowledge of unrecorded Etruscan monuments of

1. G. Körte, *I rilievi delle urni etrusche*, 1916.

2. *Liverpool Annals*, XVII, p. 27.



ETRUSCAN JEWELRY IN THE PUBLIC MUSEUMS OF LIVERPOOL.  
Scale 2:3.





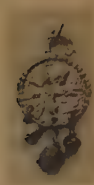
1



2



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11



12



13



14



15



16



17



18



19



20

ETRUSCAN JEWELRY IN THE PUBLIC MUSEUMS OF LIVERPOOL.

Scale 2 : 3.



any kind to communicate with the Permanent Committee or with some Etruscan worker. There must exist in this country, both in public and private collections, Etruscan material of unknown value. The treasure-hunters who operated in Etruscan cemeteries during the last century found in the wealthy English visitors to Italy a ready market for their spoils. The selection which came over here was generally extremely good of its kind—whether jewellery, bronze or painted vase. It would be in itself a satisfaction to Etruscologists to know where Etruscan things are housed, but over and beyond this there exists the possibility that within one of these hoards there may lie unnoticed the link which has long been wanted to join up broken chains of reasoning, the key which will unlock the safe wherein lies some Etruscan secret. In particular, every fragment of Etruscan writing is desired by the Etruscan Committee.

In the Liverpool collection there is still a number of Etruscan objects not yet described. For the generous assistance I have received from the Keepers at the Museum I wish to express my very sincere gratitude.



## REVIEWS

*The History of the Maya.* By THOMAS GANN and J. ERIC THOMPSON.  
London, 1931.

The names of the authors of this book are sufficient guarantee that its contents are both up to date and authoritative. It is intended for the general public, among whom, in the matter of American archaeology, the reviewer may justly reckon himself. Consequently it speaks well for the book that he read it with avidity from beginning to end, and that it answered practically all the more immediate questions he would have liked to ask about the Maya civilization. The slight lack of co-ordination observable between the contributions of the two authors is explained, and perhaps justified, by them in their preface. The book is not a long one, and yet an enormous amount of information has been compressed into it without making it in any sense dull reading, and without the balance between the various aspects of the subject ever being lost. It is not part of its primary business to describe the Maya sites, yet under the two headings of 'History' and 'Art and Architecture' the authors have cleverly contrived to introduce some description of most of them. The book is fully illustrated, chiefly by means of exceedingly good photographs.

In conclusion, a word of advice to its readers: let them read side by side with it—as the reviewer did—the account in *The Museum Journal*, Vol. XXII (Philadelphia, 1931), of the recent archaeological air-survey of Yucatan made by the University of Pennsylvania; from its descriptions and its wonderful air-photographs they will appreciate to an extent which would be otherwise impossible the conditions under which the information contained in this book has been recovered from the tangled forests of Central America.

T. ERIC PEET.

*The Bible, the Scholar and the Spade.* By C. H. IRWIN, M.A., D.D.  
London, 1932.

A long succession of disappointments makes the archaeologist suspicious of a book which bears any such title as this. It is so often the work of the amateur who has no use for either scholar or spade except when their evidence coincides with the written word of the Bible, and who in most cases has not the slightest conception of the real nature of the problems over which he skims so light-heartedly. It would be unfair to relegate Dr. Irwin's book to this category, especially as he has at least

taken the trouble to keep in touch with all the recent excavations which bear on his subject. Yet his work remains rather near the surface. He makes no estimate of the comparative historical value of the different parts of the Biblical narrative, though on such an estimate the amount of correspondence to be expected with the facts of excavation wholly depends; the standard of accuracy which may reasonably be demanded from the Acts of the Apostles is not to be looked for in Genesis.

Archæology is full of traps, and it is hardly to be expected that the lay writer should avoid them all. For instance, it has long been known that Naville's 'granaries' at Pithom are nothing more than the foundations of a Roman fort. The Sphinx may have been symbolic, but not in the sense that Dr. Irwin would have us believe; it quite simply represents King Khephren with the body of a lion, in which form the King of Egypt is constantly shown trampling on his enemies. The name once read Usertesen is now known to be in reality Senusret, and it is hard to see how this could have escaped the notice of any one who had read any reputable recent history of Egypt. There is no such place as the Hiero-polite Gulf. On p. 88 the author betrays complete ignorance of Dr. Gardiner's work on the new Sinaitic script, and the long and, Biblically speaking, important discussions to which it has given rise. We are ready enough to pardon the mere Bible student—as Dr. Irwin begs us to do on p. 84—if he refrains from dogmatizing with regard to the route of the exodus. But is it worth writing on this subject at all unless one is prepared to state much more clearly than he does what the problem is? Might he not have told his readers frankly that while the site of Pithom is known with comparative certainty, and a brilliant and probably correct suggestion has been made concerning that of Raamses, the rest of the places mentioned in the story of the exodus are quite unknown, the positions assigned to them by writers, whether Egyptologists or laymen, being wholly hypothetical and chosen by each simply to suit his own preconceived theory of the route? And lastly, Dr. Irwin would probably have spoken with less unmeasured enthusiasm of Yahuda's recent book, *Die Sprache des Pentateuch*, had he troubled to read what the Egyptologists—who after all are the judges of what is Egyptian and what is not—have had to say in their reviews of it.

This kind of work is rather disappointing, and often makes one wish that the 'mere Biblical student' were a little less easily satisfied and a little more enterprising in his search for the truth.

T. ERIC PEET.

*The Archons of Athens in the Hellenistic Age.* By WILLIAM BELL DINSMOOR. Pp. xviii+567. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1931.

This is a work of astounding erudition, and of the highest importance for all students of the Hellenistic period. At the same time, since its range

is by no means restricted to the subject indicated by the title, it will be consulted with no small profit by workers in a much wider historical field. It is, inevitably, full of closely-reasoned chronological discussions, the technicalities of which the present reviewer is not competent to criticise; and, as it is impossible to summarise even briefly all the new conclusions which it reaches, this notice may with advantage be limited to a brief account of the genesis and scope of the book.

In 1928 Professor Dinsmoor, who is well known for his studies in Greek architecture and for his acute reconstructions and interpretations of Attic building inscriptions, undertook some trial excavations in the slope lying between the Propylaea and the Beulé gate of the Acropolis in order to throw light on 'the mode of approach to the Acropolis in the fifth century B.C.' One of his trenches, close to the south face of the Agrippa-pedestal, revealed that the sill from which the upper flight of the Roman stairway took off was inscribed on its under surface. The block was finally lifted and proved to be the right-hand half of a long inscription, sawn vertically down the centre in Roman times to make two steps, of which the left-hand portion (*I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>, 649) came to light, close by, some sixty years ago. Putting the two together enabled the whole text to be restored and dated: owing to the worn and incomplete state of the left-hand piece this involved many difficulties, but we must not linger over the numerous felicitous restorations, almost all of which are beyond doubt, which the author gives us. In any case, the few less certain phrases in no way affect the tenour or the interest of the document. This consists of a decree, 56 lines in length, dating from the archonship of Olympiodoros (for his exact date, see below); it is moved by Stratokles of Diomeia, a demagogue whose public career lasted from *ca.* 324 to 292 B.C., and proposes the erection of a statue to, and the conferring of other honours on, Philippides of Paiania. The main importance of the decree lies in the fact that after the Archon's name comes that of the Registrar (*ἀναγραφεὺς*) in the place where we should have expected the name of the Secretary (*γραμματεὺς*). Hitherto it has been regarded as an axiom that all Attic inscriptions in which the Registrar's name appears as publishing the decree belong to the period of Oligarchic rule commencing with the establishing of a Macedonian garrison in Piraeus in 322 B.C. and lasting till the democracy was restored in 318. Difficulties had already been encountered, as inscriptions proved to yield more names of Registrars than could be fitted in to this period, but the new evidence that a Registrar was again holding office in the archonship of Olympiodoros solves this problem, though it creates a new one, which the author convincingly solves. Four important conclusions are presented in the light of the new decree, namely: (1) that *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>, 389, in which the name of Epikouros again occurs as Registrar, must be restored as reading not [*Ἐπὶ Ἀπολλοδόρου ἀρχοντος* (*i.e.* 319/8 B.C.) but [*Ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπιοδόρου ἀρχοντος*; (2) that in *I.G.* ii<sup>2</sup>, 390, the restoration of Epikouros as the name of the missing Registrar in the archonship of Apollodoros is wrong, and that the

name of Eukadmos is to be substituted ; (3) that certain other texts representing difficulties as to the identification of Registrars must be restored in agreement with the conclusions hitherto reached, enabling us to constitute the Registrar list as follows : 321/0,—of Oion, 320/19, Archedikos of Lamptrai, 319/18, Eukadmos of Kollytos ; 294/3, Thrasykles of Thria, 293/2, Epikouros of Rhamnous. (4) Even more important is the discovery that Olympiodoros was archon both in 294/3 and 293/2, which rests on the incontrovertible restoration of ii<sup>2</sup>, 389 (already mentioned), which reads [Ἐπὶ Ὀλυμπι]δοδώρου ἄρχοντος δεύτε[ρον ἔτος, ἀναγρα]-φέως δὲ Ἐπικούρου τοῦ Ἐ[πιτέλους Ῥαμνίου]σίου, κ.τ.λ. This new information seems finally to solve a famous riddle, namely, why the Archon list given by Dionysius of Halicarnassos contains apparently only fourteen names for the fifteen years beginning 307/6 ; for we now see that Olympiodoros held office for two years in succession, and that Philippos, the last name on his list, falls in 292/1, instead of a year earlier as the majority of scholars had recently come to believe. Moreover, this most unusual renewal of the tenure of the Archonship—amounting practically to a Dictatorship—accounts for the revival of the equally abnormal post of Registrar.

Having established these conclusions in his first two chapters, Professor Dinsmoor proceeds in chapters III-XVII to re-examine all the evidence for dating the other Athenian Archons in the third, second and first centuries B.C. Chapter IX deals fully with the Archons of Delphi in the third century ; chapter X with the Athenian priests of Asklepios in the same period. His conclusions for the Athenian Archons are set forth in a comparative Table, together with the dates allotted by earlier workers in this field. To select one point from many, we may note that his list shows no break in the tribal rotation of the Athenian Secretaries (known as ' Ferguson's Law ') between the archonship of Olympiodoros and the end of the Chremonidean War (263/2 B.C.), and that later in this century he shows that breaks occurred only in 247 and 228—the latter year coinciding also with a break in the tribal cycle of the priests of Asklepios (another cycle first recognised by Ferguson). It will not be surprising if some of these dates provoke expert criticism on historical grounds.

In chapters XVII-XX follows a discussion of the Athenian calendar, in which special attention is paid to the 19-year cycles of Meton, established in 433/2. Incidentally there is some enlightening criticism of some of the conclusions reached by Meritt, in his recent *Athenian Calendar*, concerning the relations of the civil and the Prytany year, and the author's arrangement will be found, compared with those of Keil and Meritt, on the Table facing p. 330. We can really feel now that the chronological background of the Peloponnesian war rests on indestructible foundations, for the data of Thucydides, of inscriptions and of astronomy, are here brought into harmony. In chapters XIX and XX the author discusses the 76-year cycle of Kallippos, introduced in 330 B.C., and the 304-year cycle of Hip-



parchos, who flourished at Rhodes in the second century. The criticism of the abstruse calculations underlying these chapters, and embodied in the accompanying Tables, must be left to astronomers, but historians and epigraphists will find much of value in them. Finally come eight Appendices, dealing with the following topics :—(A) The official order of the tribes in the Hellenistic Age ; (B) The Attic Demes, and their assignment to their Tribes ; (C) The priests of Asklepios in the fourth century ; (D) The Hellenistic dates in the Chronicles of Eusebius ; (E) The Archon list of 232/1 to 209/8 B.C. (*I.G.* ii<sup>1</sup>, 859) ; (F) The Archons in the Didascaliae list (*I.G.* ii<sup>1</sup>, 975) ; (G) The Macedonian Calendar in Egypt ; (H) The Archons and Calendar of Delos.

The Bibliography occupies eleven pages, and the Indices, which are of superlative excellence, no less than thirty-nine. Altogether, this is a monument of learning, admirably written and handsomely produced, for which it is difficult to thank the author adequately ; but, along with our thanks, we venture to express our congratulations on his mastery of this enormous amount of material, and our amazement at the rapidity with which he has completed its publication.

A. M. WOODWARD.

*Das Problem des Klassischen und die Antike.* Acht Vorträge gehalten auf der Fachtagung der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft zu Naumburg 1930 von J. Stroux, W. Schadewaldt, P. Friedländer, Ed. Fraenkel, B. Schweitzer, Ed. Schmidt, M. Gelzer, H. Kuhn, herausgegeben von WERNER JAEGER. Leipzig und Berlin : Verlag und Druck von B. G. Teubner, 1931. Pp. viii+128. Geheftet 5 M. 60 ; gebunden 6 M. 80.

This book contains the eight lectures delivered at the fourth ' Fachtagung der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft ' at Naumburg on Wednesday and Thursday of Whit week, 1930, introduced with a few words from the President, Werner Jaeger of Berlin, who explains that it was only at the fourth meeting of the Association that it succeeded in its aim, ' alle Vorträge in den Dienst einer zentralen Frage zu stellen, die vom Standpunkt der verschiedenen Disziplinen der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft erörtert wird,' and that the first proposal of publication came from Alfred Giesecke of the firm of B. G. Teubner.

Johannes Stroux of Munich begins with a paper entitled ' Die Anschauungen vom Klassischen im Altertum,' which ranges from Plato to the treatise *On the sublime* and the *Dialogus de oratoribus*, examining the Platonic rules of ὁρθότης, symmetry, and τὸ πρέπον, the κρίσις of the Alexandrian grammarians which sets up a canon of writers in the different forms of literature, the return to Atticism of Roman literature in the last century B.C., and the classicism of the empire after the *Dialogus de oratoribus*. Possibly it is not made sufficiently clear that τὸ πρέπον is not always an aesthetic criterion. Wolfgang Schadewaldt of Freiburg-im-

Breisgau follows with 'Begriff und Wesen der antiken Klassik,'<sup>1</sup> in which he turns away from attempts at abstract definition and in an admirable appreciation of Sophocles and Virgil shows how 'Klassik ist Adel geistigen Menschentums zum Gesetz der Form erhoben.' The third paper is by Paul Friedländer of Marburg and is called 'Vorklassisch und Nachklassisch.' The greater part is concerned with the latter. Indeed, only two and a half pages out of fourteen are given to the prominence of exciting detail in the archaic, and Alcman, Pindar and Herodotus are quickly dismissed, as well as Aeschylus, whom Friedländer, in some contradiction with certain modern critics, declares to be 'der Schöpfer des klassischen Stils in der griechischen Dichtung.' There then comes an interesting examination of some passages in post-classical writers—Callimachus, *Hymns*, II, 1-8; Bion, *Adonis* 1-6; Seneca, *Hercules Furens*, 898 *sqq.*; Lucan II, 1-4, VII, 1-6; Statius, *Thebaid* I, 1-45; Nonnus I, 11 *sqq.*,<sup>2</sup> XII, 32-34, XLI, 275 *sqq.*, XLIII, 186-191—in which the personal, extravagant and superhuman features are contrasted with the 'Bändigung' or restraint which is found in what is classical. Eduard Fraenkel of Freiburg-im-Breisgau writes on 'Die klassische Dichtung der Römer.' He seeks to show how the classical poetry of the Romans—that is, Virgil and Horace, but a word is given to Propertius I, 3—is distinguished from Hellenistic and older Roman poetry by 'Monumentalisierung der Form,' development of tradition by the law of *lucidus ordo* and sympathy with the earnest spirit of the age.

The next two papers are given to plastic art. Bernhard Schweitzer of Königsberg discusses the classical in ancient art with reference to certain modern systems of aesthetics, and then stresses the importance of its rhythm and proportion. He sums up by saying of classical Greek art: 'aus dem Zusammenwirken eines von den tiefsten geistigen Kräften genährten bildnerischen Triebes mit dem historischen Traditionsstoff entsteht klassische Kunst. Die Natur, aus schöpferischem Geist neu geboren, wird zu einer zweiten, höheren Natur, selbst weiterbildend und weiterzeugend,' and admits the claim of Augustan art to be regarded as classical, which the next writer, Eduard Schmidt of Kiel, is not disposed to do. Schmidt's subject is 'Klassizismus und Klassik in der Antiken Kunst,' and to illustrate ancient conceptions of the classical in art he deals with the changes of taste in the Romans in their period of copying Greek works. He ends by taking a middle position between the two extremes 'in der Wertung der Kopien als Zeugnis für die griechische Kunst.' Matthias Gelzer of Frankfurt asks 'Gibt es eine klassische Form in der politischen Entwicklung?' and finds it in the city state, the idea of which he illustrates from the picture given by Aristotle. More might have been said

1. This paper is reprinted from *Die Antike*, VI, 1930, pp. 265 *sqq.*

2. It is not said why Nonnus I, 39 is quoted with ἡδυμανῆ, XLI, 296 with γαίης, XLIII, 191 with δελφίν, where Koechly and Ludwig have ἡδυμελῆ, γαίη and δελφίς. There are wrong accents or breathings on pp. 34, 35, 36 and 54; on p. 42, 8 should be 7, and on p. 104, 7 should be 11; the print is otherwise accurate and clear.

about Plato. There are glances at Polybius and Cicero. The concluding paper is by Helmut Kuhn, entitled 'Klassisch als historischer Begriff.' The concept is considered first as 'allgemein-deskriptiv,' then as 'individuell-deskriptiv,' and finally as one which is still of valid importance for the spiritual life of to-day.

One may regret that so little attention is given to prose literature, and perhaps, too, that fifth and fourth century Greek art is not separately analysed; but this book is to be commended as one which every teacher of the classics and every lover of great art should read and ponder.

G. B. A. FLETCHER.

*The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea.* By AXEL W. PERSSON. Pp. viii+152, with 4 coloured plates, 32 plates and 86 figures in the text. Lund, C. W. K. Gleerup. London, Humphrey Milford, 1931. £2, 2s.

Professor Persson and the Royal Society of Letters in Lund deserve our congratulations as much on their publication of the *Royal Tombs at Dendra* as on the good fortune of the actual discovery.

We have in Part I a straightforward account of the excavation in 1926 of the Tholos tomb, with its dramatic features brought out with desirable liveliness, a description of the construction of the tomb, a full account of the objects found in the form of a catalogue (chap. IV) elaborated by 'Remarks on the more important finds' (chap. V), and finally a very interesting reconstruction of the burial ceremonies of important Mycenaeans, as these can be deduced from the position of the skeletons and of the objects buried with them.

The illustrations, photographs, plans and drawings are beyond praise, both in fullness and excellence. They are so good that we may voice a regret that in the two drawings of the 'Queen's' Bull's head cup (Pls. I and XV) the problem set by the perspective has been just too much for the artist, a point which in less good company might have been allowed to go unremarked.

Part II deals with the three chamber tombs excavated in 1927, one of which, with a rich store of objects, including one of the richest bronze finds of the Mycenaean period in Greece, but with no trace, not so much as a tooth, of any corpse, led the excavators to the belief that it was a cenotaph built as a home for the souls of important persons who died away from home. In view of the date of the tomb, not earlier than 1200 B.C., the author suggests that the two men for whom the tomb was made were among the Danauna of the 'Northern peoples' who plundered in Egypt until Rameses III destroyed them in 1190 B.C.

Not the least interesting part of the book is the Appendix on 'Legend, image and simile,' in which Professor Persson would read a geographical and political symbolism into the lion (Argos) pulling down a bull (Crete) as seen on the 'King's' signet stone, as of course on other Mycenaean



gems. The author develops the idea, endeavouring to show that the six beasts vanquished by Herakles in the course of his labours can all be found on Mycenaean seal stones (if the hydra be allowed to be derived from the octopus), and, if given an heraldic geographical interpretation, may suggest geographical conquests by a general (Herakles) in the employ of the King of Mycenae. The idea is seductive, and might be nearly convincing if the first step, the identification of the lion with Mycenae, did not rest so much on the presence of the lions on the 'lion gate,' the religious intent of which has been generally accepted, and, in view of the Knossos impression of a seal with the Minoan goddess on a hill between two lions in the same attitude, can hardly be doubted.

The idea, however, presupposes a degree of continuity between the Mycenaean civilization and that of later Greece, which, in spite of modern views, it is a little difficult to accept until evidence has been found to link the Olympian religion which dominates the Greek legends with that civilisation. For the same reason, to quote Homer to illustrate Mycenaean burial customs seems a little rash.

There is, however, no doubt that these points add to the interest of an admirable book, as does the pleasing suggestion that the 'King's' octopus and hunt cups, both of Cretan manufacture, are loot from the sack of Knossos, though they are perhaps as likely to be heirlooms from the days of the domination of, at any rate, Cretan art.

Mr. Wace adds an interesting appendix on the tholoi at Mycenae in connection with that at Dendra in which he voices for the first time, I think, in English the view which is gaining ground that the 'tholoi' of the Mesara could not have stood up as domed structures.

J. P. DROOP.

*Hesperia* (Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens),  
Vol. I, 1932. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Mass. \$3.

We offer a warm welcome to the first number of the Journal of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens, and this not only because it is fitting that a school of such distinction should possess an organ of its own which it may trust its members to supply with valuable material, but because of the intrinsic interest of the contents. These not only include a valuable account of the Pnyx by K. Kourouniotes and Homer A. Thompson in the light of the recent excavations, an account of the identification and excavation of a sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite on the north slope of the Acropolis by Oscar Broneer, and the publication by Lucy T. Shoe of 'a box of Antiquities from Corinth,' but the publication by Dr. Rhys Carpenter, the Director of the School, of his identification of a piece of sculpture in the forecourt of the Acropolis Museum as the lower part of the figure lettered U in Carrey's drawing of the West Pediment of the Parthenon, and his recognition in a series of statuettes from Eleusis of copies, made probably in the fourth century, of seven out of

the eight figures that filled the wings of the West Pediment. These include not only this figure U but the figures O\* and A\* missing from Carrey's drawing. Of this series only one, the figure of Kekrops, B, had previously been recognised. The illustrations are good and follow the argument step by step to its convincing conclusion.

It would not be easy to overestimate the importance of this piece of work for the study of pedimental grouping since 'we have at last, without gap or serious flaw, the whole composition of the pediment at our disposal and can determine its formal and compositional qualities.' To have dug out evidence of what was already lost when Carrey made his drawings is indeed a subject for congratulation. Dr. Rhys Carpenter speaks with modesty of 'a fatal conspiracy of accidents' which prevented recognition of the Eleusis statuettes in 1890, but we are at liberty to think that they would have continued nameless if Dr. Carpenter's eye for Pheidias style had not led him to produce the clue by identifying the figure U which had lain for years under the eyes of every visitor to the Acropolis Museum unrecognised.

J. P. DROOP.

*The Origin of Chalcidian Ware.* By H. R. W. SMITH. University of California Publications in Classical Archaeology, Vol. I, No. 3. Pp. 85-149; Pls. 9-24, 10 figures in text. University of California Press, Berkeley, California; Cambridge University Press, London, England.

Acute observation of certain details of a ceramic piece of odd form in the Museum of the University of Pennsylvania, which can be identified by details of the drawing as belonging to the 'Chalcidian' class, has enabled Mr. H. R. W. Smith to show with convincing plausibility that this piece formed part of a concave stand made in imitation of a class of Etruscan *bucchero* vessels. And if this be granted then there is much force in Mr. Smith's suggestion that this ware, hitherto of uncertain home, may well be supposed to have been made by Chalcidian potters settled in the partly Hellenised Etruscan town of Caere. Mr. Smith argues his case well, showing much detailed knowledge in his contention that features common to Corinthian and 'Chalcidian' and to Attic and 'Chalcidian' are all borrowed *from* Greece. Could the borrowing be shown to be the other way, or if considerable finds of actual 'Chalcidian' were to be made on Greek soil, Mr. Smith admits that his theory would collapse, since the 'Chalcidian' class is hardly numerous enough for it to be supposed that it was made for export. But no 'Chalcidian' piece exists with an authentic Greek provenance, and a good case has been made out here for supposing that this pottery was made by Greeks living at a centre where they would be equally susceptible to influences from imported Greek vases and from local Etruscan fabrics. A good piece of work presented with adequate illustrations.

A minor but irritating point is Mr. Smith's use of the word 'Helladic.'

Presumably he prefers it to Hellenic as having a sense limited to the mainland of Greece. But the word has by now an established meaning in connection with the Bronze Age, and should not be used out of that context.

J. P. DROOP.

*Ancestral Portraiture in Rome and the Art of the last century of the Republic.*

By DR. ANNIE N. ZADOKS-JOSEPHUS JITTA. Allard Piersen Stichting. Universiteit van Amsterdam Archaeologisch-Historische Bijdragen, No. 1. Pp. xii+119. Pls. I-XXII.

This is an interesting book and makes, I think, a definite contribution to our understanding of the origins of Roman portrait sculpture. If we accept the author's views (in the lamentable scarcity of definitely dated monuments proof can hardly be asked for) we see that Roman portraiture springs from a fusion of three elements: indigenous Italic art, 'which had till now geometrised its heads and had only rendered the principal features,' Hellenic art, which 'had mainly occupied itself with the surface of the head and had reached an unsurpassable virtuosity in the rendering of the nimble movements of supple muscles,' and the local habit of making ancestral portraits in the form of death masks, which in the realistic period of the second century B.C. gave firm support to the maker of realistic portraits. 'Now for the first time attention was turned to the artful composition of the bony structure. For by the decaying of the flesh and the muscles' loss of elasticity the death mask had pointed emphatically to the fixed points of the bones of forehead and nose, of cheek and jaw. . . . Now for the first time the head is constructed from within and is created by the artist as by Nature herself.'

The excellent plates reproduce one or two examples of the first two elements and a series of heads examined in detail of the third group in which the greater or less influence of the death mask is to be seen.

In an appendix dealing with the *jus imaginum* a case is made out for holding that since the meaning of the word *imago* as used by Classic writers is simply portrait, not necessarily 'ancestral portrait,' and much less 'death mask,' 'the so-called *jus imaginum* is only based on a wrong interpretation of classic authors and a great deal of fancy among modern scholars.'

J. P. DROOP.

*The Archaeology of Berkshire.* By HAROLD PEAKE, M.A., F.S.A. Pp. xi+260, with 6 maps and 31 illustrations. Methuen & Co., 1931. 10s. 6d.

Much useful work has gone to the compiling of this volume of the County Archaeologies Series, and the result is a book that should be of real value to the archaeologically-minded among the natives of the county.

As the author suggests in his preface, the most valuable portion of the book is probably the Gazetteer, in which he has attempted to 'include every monument lying in the County, every antiquity found there, every

event that is recorded to have happened there, and every document referring to it within the prescribed period'—that is, down to the Norman Conquest.

Another valuable feature is the bibliography for 'further reading' at the end of each chapter.

The main part of the book is naturally rather heavy reading, consisting, as it must, largely of brief descriptions of isolated finds, until the Saxon period is reached, when the archaeology is lightened by a fair admixture of history. The author's aim of giving 'a general impression of the succession of events' would perhaps have been better achieved if each chapter had closed with a narrative summary of the conclusions to be drawn from the facts recounted. As it is, the unlearned reader might find it a little difficult to see the wood for the trees.

The book is carefully written, the use of the Antonine 'Iters' for Itineraries in one place being the only noticeable slip of the pen.

J. P. DROOP.

*Handbuch der biologischen Arbeitsmethoden, Lieferung 362.* GUSTAV SCHMEIDEL, 'Methoden zur Konservierung von Organen und ganzen Organismen.' R. H. POST, 'Anthropologische Messungen am lebenden Menschen.' Urban and Schwarzenberg, 1931.

The two essays contained in this pamphlet speak well for the series of works on technical methods in biology edited by Professor Abderhalden. The first deals, after a slight historical survey, with modern methods of preserving organic bodies from decay, devoting particular attention to the use of paraffin by Professor Hochstetter in Vienna. The second is devoted to anthropometrical measurements by an author who has made a special study of the methods used by leading exponents of this branch of anthropology, and voices a powerful plea for a standardisation of methods as being absolutely necessary if work done by different men in different parts of the world is not to be wasted, since without it the comparison of results which alone is fruitful becomes impossible.

J. P. DROOP.

*The Temple of the Warriors.* By EARL H. MORRIS. New York. London, 1931.

In his sub-title Earl Morris calls his book 'The Adventure of Exploring and Restoring a Masterpiece of Native American Architecture,' etc. The archaeologist will doubtless feel that the word adventure sticks in his throat a little. The excavation and restoration of an ancient building, even in the primeval forest of Yucatan, is, and ought to be, for the archaeologist not an adventure but a scientific operation, and it is not easy for him to feel either sympathy for or interest in such a breezy and colloquial narrative as that which lies before us. Fortunately, we know

that from the scientific point of view the excavation in which Mr. Morris took part was all that could be desired ; and in this work he is merely trying to bring out a side of the excavator's life which he thinks, and perhaps rightly thinks, will have an interest for a certain public. In fact, the book must be judged not by the archaeologist but by the lover of adventure stories. There are a large number of admirable photographic illustrations, and a few coloured plates, all of which last—and particularly the frontispiece—are spoilt by lack of sufficient margin.

T. ERIC PEET.

*Cornwall, the Land of the Gods.* By T. F. G. DEXTER, Ph.D., B.Sc., B.A.  
A. W. Jordon, Truro. 1s. 6d.

This little book contains much curious lore and is distinctly entertaining. The thesis that many a Christian saint is only a pagan deity in masquerade is of course perfectly sound, and the probability is that there is much truth in the book. It is all the more unfortunate, therefore, that, possibly from his very eagerness, the author's statements do not seem likely to carry conviction. He is specially unfortunate in his attempt to see on a British coin, not a debased copy of the design on a Macedonian stater, but 'the goddess Kerid with a horse's body, a greyhound's haunches, a hen's head, a divided crest, swallowing as a hen the grain of wheat into which Gwion had transformed himself'; for he does not seem to know that the original design has a *biga*, and that the dumb-bell effect in the horse's legs is the natural result of an unskilful use of the gem-cutter's drill. Moreover, the statement that Sul, worshipped at Bath, was a Sun goddess does not predispose the reader to accept statements about the natures of other gods, for it seems to rest solely on an identification of the name Sul with Sol, and leaves out of account the apparent Roman identification of the lady with Minerva. The author is too fond of the word 'perchance' and uses the word 'anent.'

J. P. DROOP.



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